
THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Nat'l response needed

Protest racist drive in Boston!



Boston's Hyde Park High School. Racists continue drive to prevent Black students from attending schools of their choice. See pages 12, 15-18.

Vote Socialist Workers

Special feature on election issues

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 38/NUMBER 41
NOVEMBER 1, 1974
CLOSING NEWS DATE—OCT. 23, 1974

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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Telephone: (213) 483-2798. Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: domestic, \$7.50 a year; foreign, \$11.00. By first-class mail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$32; all other countries, \$53. By airmail: domestic, Canada, and Mexico, \$42. By air printed matter: Central America and Caribbean, \$40; Mediterranean Africa, Europe, and South America, \$52; USSR, Asia, Pacific, and Africa, \$62. Write for foreign sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly to Britain, Ireland, and Continental Europe: L1 for eight issues, L2.50 for six months, L5 for one year. Send banker's draft or international postal order (payable to Pathfinder Press) to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

BROOKLYN COLLEGE STUDENTS, FACULTY DEMAND CONTROL OF PUERTO RICAN STUDIES: At Militant press time students at Brooklyn College in New York City are occupying administrative offices on the campus, demanding student, faculty, and staff control of the school's Puerto Rican studies department.

A committee of Puerto Rican staff and faculty—with the support of Puerto Rican students—nominated Maria Sanchez as department chairwoman. However, the administration ignored this democratically reached decision and appointed Elga Lugo to the post. The department, unanimous in opposition to Lugo, has demanded the right to choose its own chairwoman, a right all other departments have.

Hundreds of Black, Latino, Asian, and white students, along with staff and faculty, have organized mass meetings, educational leafleting, picket lines, demonstrations, and occupations of administration offices.

After the occupation of the school president's office on Oct. 18, the administration agreed to negotiate. Since that time, however, the administration has failed to keep its agreement.

Particularly important in this struggle has been the support of the Veterans Club, which has mobilized large numbers of Black and Puerto Rican veterans for the demonstrations. The student government has also endorsed the struggle because they recognize its link to the right of students and faculty to control the university.

Many groups are actively involved in this fight, including the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Young Workers Liberation League, Dominican Student Movement, and Puerto Rican Alliance. Students from other campuses have also come to show their support.

PICKET DEMANDS 'FREE CARLOS FELICIANO': A spirited group of 100 people, mostly Puerto Rican, picketed in front of the New York State Appellate Court in Manhattan Oct. 23 to demand an end to the frame-up of Carlos Feliciano. Inside the courthouse, Feliciano's appeal was being presented.

Feliciano was convicted last year on the charge of possession of explosives. The Puerto Rican activist, now out on bail, faces four years in prison if his conviction is not overturned.

The Committee to Defend Carlos Feliciano is organizing public support for Feliciano's appeal, which is being handled by attorney William Kunstler.

TRIAL OF CHICANO ACTIVIST PROTESTED IN WISCONSIN: More than 40 people, mostly Latino, traveled more than 200 miles from Milwaukee to Sparta, Wis., Oct. 21 to picket during the trial of James Ray Mendoza on frame-up charges of killing two off-duty cops.

The picket line was organized by the Ray Mendoza Defense Committee. Participants included members of the United Youth Federation (a Mexican and Puerto Rican youth group), the Latin American Union for Civil Rights, the Young Socialist Alliance, Youth Against War and Fascism, and independent Latino activists.

The trial was ordered moved to the small, virtually all-white community last month by Judge Hugh O'Connell, who claimed there had been too much pretrial publicity. Spokespersons for the Mendoza defense committee charge that the move was designed to isolate Mendoza from growing support for him in Milwaukee.

The defense committee is planning a rally at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee on Oct. 31 to demand the immediate release of Mendoza and the dropping of all charges against him.

CHICAGO CONFERENCE ON 'STATUS OF PUERTO RICO': More than 250 people attended a conference on the "Status of Puerto Rico" held at the University of Illinois Chicago Circle campus on Oct. 4 and 5. Sponsored by the Latin American studies departments of the University of Illinois, Governors State University, and Northeastern University, the gathering was called to build support for the Oct. 27 Puerto Rican solidarity rally in New York City's Madison Square Garden.

Speaking at the conference were Arthur Kinoy, a member of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee's national board; George Beckford, professor of economics at the University of the West Indies, in Jamaica; and Ramon Arbona, editor of *Claridad*, the newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

The conference recessed at noon on Oct. 5 to allow participants to join a "Unity Rally" organized by the United Farm Workers, the Young Lords Organization, and the Campaign for Community Control. The rally drew 1,000 people.

WASHINGTON, D.C., CLUW PICKETS WITH UFW: Fifty-five Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) activists and United Farm Workers (UFW) supporters picketed a Giant food store in Washington, D.C., on Oct. 5. The picketers, predominantly women, asked shoppers not to buy head lettuce, grapes, and Gallo wine.

CLUW sponsored the action, which drew supporters from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 2; Washington Teachers Union; American Federation of Government Employees; Hotel and Restaurant Workers; Communication Workers of America; and the UFW.

This was the first strike-support activity that the Washington area CLUW has sponsored. Now that the group has been chartered and is an official CLUW chapter, additional strike support activity is being planned.

The next Washington area CLUW meeting will take place Nov. 7 at 6 p.m. at 1201 16th Street N.W.

PHILA. BLACKS DEMAND CLOSING OF YOUTH CENTER: Beginning Oct. 6, daily picket lines and rallies of between 30 and 200 young Blacks have been demanding the closing of the Philadelphia Youth Study Center.

The center is for the detention of young people aged seven to 17 before they are formally charged with a crime. More than one-third of those detained are never charged, and many others are in for minor offenses or for running away from home. Ninety-nine percent of the detainees are Black.

The protests began in July when state representatives Lucien Blackwell, Dave Richardson, and other Black community leaders made a tour of the center and revealed the deplorable conditions there. The place is infested with rats and roaches. Torture, rape, and beatings are common. "The conditions here are worse than most jails I've seen," Richardson told *The Militant*.

The demonstrations have demanded the closing of the center, the firing of executive director Eugene Montone, and an end to racist hiring practices.

—NORMAN OLIVER



The Militant will continue to provide first-hand accounts of the struggle in Boston, explaining the real issues and standing up for the rights of Black students and parents. The capitalist newspapers are covering up the situation, attempting to whitewash the real character of the lynch-mob attacks against the Black community. Our team of reporters in Boston will provide the truth about the struggle and background information. Don't miss an issue. Subscribe today.

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What's at stake in Nov. elections

The issues in the Nov. 5 elections are of burning urgency: runaway inflation, growing unemployment, the danger of a world depression, shortages, hunger, rotten schools, the threat of nuclear war, and racist mobs on the offensive in Boston.

It may seem strange, then, that opinion polls show little interest in the elections and predict a record low turnout.

The reason for the so-called voter apathy is not hard to find. People

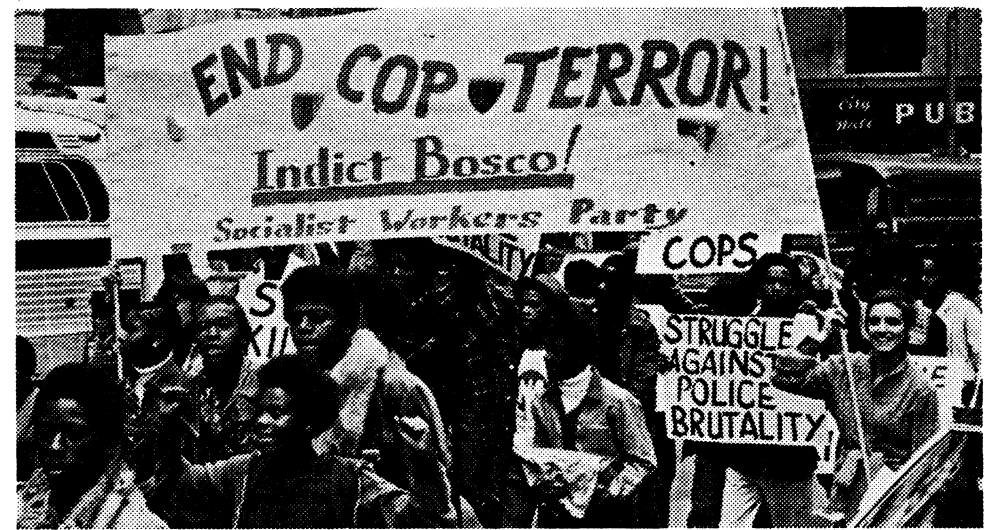
a cruel fraud: wages are held down while prices rise unchecked and the power of the government is used against the trade unions.

The Democrats and Republicans say that inflation arises because workers are lazy, wasteful, and too highly paid. The SWP candidates say no. Working people produce more than ever, but they take home less. The economic crisis is the result of the anarchy and irrationality of production for private profit.

The SWP is campaigning for the abolition of this entire outmoded system: for the banks and industries to be taken out of the hands of the ruling rich and put under the control of the workers; and for a planned economy, directed by a workers government.

Unlike the Democratic and Republican strikebreakers, the SWP candidates support struggles for higher wages, better working conditions, and shorter hours. They advocate cost-of-living escalator provisions for all wages, and for Social Security, pensions, welfare, and unemployment and veterans' benefits.

The SWP candidates call for *jobs for all* through a massive program of useful public works, and through shortening the workweek with no reduction in weekly pay. They oppose any form of wage controls or any



New York demonstration. Socialist campaigns stand with all who are struggling against oppression and exploitation.

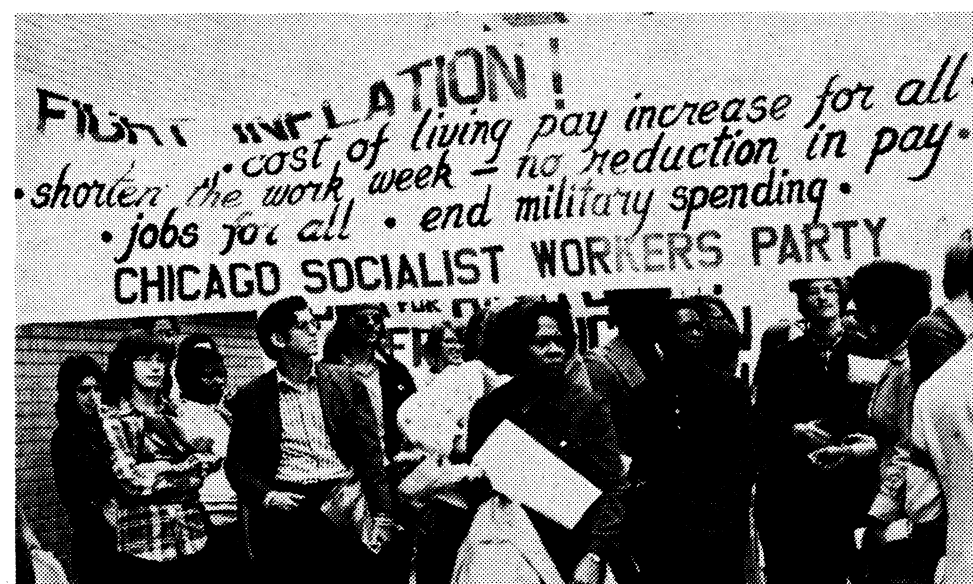
An editorial

are not apathetic about the issues. But millions recognize that the Democratic and Republican politicians are offering no solutions to our problems and often are not even speaking to those problems at all.

Most people simply do not expect any improvement in their lives to result from the elections, and so long as the political monopoly of the Democrats and Republicans is not broken, they are absolutely right.

Only the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are telling the truth about the crisis facing working people, and pointing a way forward.

The socialist candidates are explain-



SWP candidates are advancing the only real solutions to urgent problems of working people today.

ing that the stepped-up attacks on our wages, our living and working conditions, and our rights are not the fault of just one administration or one party, but of a *system*—the capitalist system, which puts the profits of a tiny, rich minority above the human needs of the vast majority.

Economic crisis

What do the Democrats and Republicans propose to do about the economic crisis?

Ford's program is direct and to the point: Pin on a "WIN" button while you eat less, heat less, drive less, and work harder. Get rid of safety standards and pollution controls to "increase productivity." While people on welfare and Social Security are forced to eat dog food, slash government spending on health, education, and welfare.

While massive layoffs sweep across the auto, textile, construction, and other industries, Ford proposes only a paltry handful of public service jobs at starvation wages.

The Democrats have no answer either. The only difference is that some liberal Democrats call for a return to "wage and price controls." But as every experience with controls has shown, government price controls are

other government interference with the rights of the unions to organize, bargain, and strike.

Racism & sexism

Twenty years after the Supreme Court outlawed segregated schools, Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities still suffer from racist discrimination in every aspect of life. They are the last hired and first fired, the hardest hit by inflation, forced to live in the worst housing and to attend the worst schools.

Far from having achieved equality, women still face discrimination on the job, in education, and throughout society.

Racist mobs have mobilized in Boston to block desegregation, encouraged by the "antibusing" statements from Democrats and Republicans alike. While liberals have caved in to the racists, the Socialist Workers Party candidates in Massachusetts and around the country have championed the struggle of the Black community in Boston.

The socialist candidates call for preferential hiring and job upgrading for Blacks and other oppressed nationalities and for women, to begin to redress years of discrimination.

The Democrats and Republicans claim that with Nixon's resignation

the "nightmare of Watergate" is over. Nothing could be further from the truth. The corruption and criminality associated with Watergate are continuing and are standard procedure in capitalist politics, as most recently shown by Ford's pardon of Nixon and the exposures of Rockefeller's crimes.

Government secrecy, deception, spying, and illegal repression continue, because they are *necessary* for a government that oppresses the majority and protects the interests of an exploiting minority.

Threat of war

Détente with the ruling bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking has failed to bring peace, because the drive toward war is inherent in U.S. capitalism's striving to exploit and dominate the entire world.

Without exception the Democrats and Republicans support the right of U.S. imperialism to maintain its worldwide military apparatus. The SWP candidates demand the complete abolition of this war machine, withdrawal of all U.S. troops from foreign soil, and the end of all interference in the affairs of other countries. They are on the side of the Vietnamese, the Palestinians, the Irish, and all oppressed people fighting for liberation.

The many-sided attacks on working people have not gone without resistance. There has been an upswing in union organization and strikes; women in trade unions have organized the Coalition of Labor Union Women. There have been protests against police terror in the Black community, against cutbacks, and around many other issues.

Activists in struggles

In stark contrast to the lawyers and millionaires who run on the Democratic and Republican tickets, the SWP candidates are working people who are activists and leaders in these struggles.

The capitalist politicians oppose independent actions of the masses, like demonstrations and strikes. The socialist candidates welcome these. They say working people should begin to take vital political questions into their own hands instead of trusting the promises of Democratic and Republican politicians.

The SWP is campaigning for *independent political action* by working people. They advocate the formation of a mass Black political party and a labor party based on the trade unions.

In some areas of the Southwest, Chicano militants have taken an important step in this direction by forming independent Raza Unida parties. The

SWP candidates have hailed this development, which advances the Chicano struggle and sets an invaluable example for the Black and labor movements.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Raza Unida Party (RUP) are running for some of the same statewide offices. In those cases, two voices have been heard in behalf of freedom, justice, and equality. Two voices have opposed the Democratic and Republican parties.

Where SWP candidates are running, we of course urge a vote for them. For other offices we urge a vote for the candidates of the RUP. We will view the votes for all Raza Unida candidates as votes for independent Chicano political action, as votes against the policies of the Democratic and Republican parties.

What is realistic?

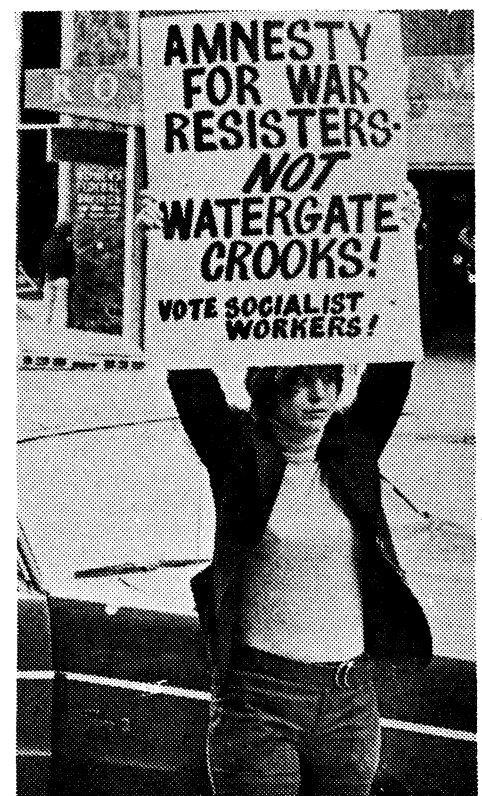
Some people argue that even though they agree with much of what the SWP candidates say, it is unrealistic—"throwing your vote away"—to vote SWP.

But what is really unrealistic and self-defeating is to oppose the evils of the capitalist system and then vote for the parties that uphold that system.

A vote for the SWP is the *only* way to cast a clear vote in support of independent political struggle by working people.

As the great trade-union and socialist leader Eugene V. Debs said, it is better to vote for what you want and not get it than to vote for what you don't want and get it.

Vote Socialist Workers!



VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS

SWP, Raza Unida candidates confront 'la migra' in Houston

By TOM FISKE

HOUSTON—In a widely publicized confrontation with officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) here on Oct. 15, Kris Vásquez of the Socialist Workers Party and María Jiménez of the Raza Unida Party (RUP) demanded a halt to the new wave of deportations of undocumented workers in Texas.

The two candidates also demanded the right to interview the undocumented workers being held by *la migra* in Houston for deportation.

Vásquez is the SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the 18th C.D.; Jiménez is the Raza Unida candidate for state representative in the 87th district.

When the candidates, a dozen of their campaign supporters, and a group of television, radio, and newspaper reporters entered the lobby of the INS offices, there was a crowd of 50 people present awaiting naturalization forms.

Vásquez began to address them in Spanish to explain the purpose of her visit. Two uniformed federal police rushed into the room shouting, "You can't speak here," and dragged Vásquez out into the hallway.

The cops then evicted the other protesters and reporters. The group proceeded to the office of INS Deputy District Director James O'Keefe. O'Keefe kept them waiting for an hour while he phoned the district attorney's



Vásquez denounces racist campaign against undocumented workers.

office and the Washington headquarters of the INS.

When O'Keefe finally appeared, he insisted that it was federal policy to ban anyone except immediate family and attorneys from talking to detained workers.

The responses by Vásquez and Jiménez, and their statements in defense of the undocumented workers, were widely covered in the Texas media.

"The effect of this policy," Vásquez charged, "is to draw a wall of secrecy around the exploitation and deportation of the undocumented workers. The obvious reason for this policy of secrecy is that the INS is working hand-in-glove with the employers of undocumented workers to keep them in fear and isolation.

"I regard it as the right of the American people to hear the views of the undocumented workers and the right of the undocumented workers to be heard."

Jiménez explained, "In the Mexican neighborhoods we are accustomed to



Cop moves in to prevent Kris Vasquez from speaking to workers facing deportation

seeing these wagons going down the street. For example, in my street last week at three or four in the morning several people were picked up and taken away. I'm interested in finding out just what happened to them."

In an effort to begin getting out the views of the so-called illegal aliens, Vásquez and Jiménez read a statement by four undocumented workers, members of TU-CASA, an antideportation organization in San Antonio. (See box on this page.)

The two candidates pointed out that in recent months there has been a sharp increase in harassment and deportations in Texas.

Deportations have climbed to a record 1,500 a month in the Houston area. Office personnel of the INS have been reassigned to take part in dragnet "sweeps" through the Chicano community.

"We demand an immediate end to the deportations!" Vásquez said. "No cards, no quotas, no detention centers for any workers, citizens or noncitizens, in the United States!"

"All who wish to live and work here should have the same rights as citizens, including the right to join unions and to strike for decent wages."

Vásquez denounced as "racist hysteria" a recent story that appeared in the San Antonio *Express-News* under the giant banner headline "U.S. Cracks Down On Wetbacks." "Wetbacks" is a racist epithet for undocumented workers.

The article outlined an operation to "crack down on incoming wetbacks"

that would involve assigning 552 more *migra* cops along the border. It quoted the San Antonio INS director as saying, "We understand the President also places a high priority on this."

When the story appeared Oct. 6, SWP gubernatorial candidate Sherry Smith held a news conference in San Antonio to condemn the attacks on undocumented workers and urge support for the efforts of TU-CASA to end the racist roundups.

Held in the student union of San Antonio College, Smith's news conference turned into a rally attended by 100 students, most of them Chicanos.

The propaganda against "illegal aliens" claims that they take jobs away from U.S. citizens. In a statement to the media after her confrontation with the *migra* officials, Vásquez explained that this argument is a cover-up.

"Whenever the employers have a big need for undocumented workers, the patrols along the border are lax. When unemployment rises, the patrols are tightened up," she said.

"The cause for the widespread unemployment in Texas is not the undocumented workers, who are its first victims, but the irrationality of an economic system that puts profits before people."

As a result of the spotlight put on *la migra's* activities by the SWP and RUP candidates, another protest has been called at the INS offices. A picket line is scheduled for Oct. 24 and has received support from a number of Chicano activists.

'Illegals' demand human rights

The following are excerpts from statements by undocumented workers read to the media at the Houston INS offices. The workers are members of TU-CASA in San Antonio.

"When the individual comes here the first thing he finds is that he is being treated very differently, that he is seen as something low because of his brown color and because he doesn't have his documents in order. I think that any person has the right to immigrate to any country for reasons of survival.

"Mexicans do not have human rights as workers. They must take the hardest and the lowest paying jobs. They cannot become members of unions even though bosses deduct social security taxes. When they want to make use of social se-

curity, they are told this doesn't apply to them and are asked 'Where are your documents?'

"They are exploited as immigrants. When they are rounded-up by the Immigration Department they are not given a chance to defend themselves. They are intimidated and are forced to sign papers. . . ."

"America is only one continent and we should not consider borders, since the whole land is America and more so since it used to belong to Mexico. We are against divisions and borders that divide whites and browns, one country from another. They want to send us back to Mexico. We came here because in Mexico we were exploited, and we came here and found the same situation. Exploitation is the same here as in other places."

Chicanos protest killer cops in Austin

By DON SORSA

AUSTIN, Tex.—Shouts of "Stop the brutality!" "Justice now!" and "Queviva la Raza!" were heard throughout the East Austin barrio Oct. 12 when 700 people marched from El Centro Chicano to the police station, protesting the police murder of Tiburcio Soto.

Soto, a 45-year-old Chicano, was shot down by two Austin cops Oct. 6 during a family argument. Witnesses, including Soto's 16-year-old son, say he wasn't armed.

He was killed by bullets fired into each leg, his right arm, and a bullet shot into his throat from less than one inch away, according to police reports.

The cops were temporarily suspended, but two days later they were reported to be back on the job with pay. The police whitewash investigation ruled the death "justifiable homicide."

The march and rally were led by a banner saying, "March for Justice, End Police Terror."

Paul Hernández, a leader of the Austin Brown Berets, chaired the rally for the Committee for Justice, which organized the demonstration. Organizations supporting the rally included the Brown Berets, El Centro Chicano, Raza Unida Party, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and the University of Texas Radical Students Union.

The sentiment of the people attending the rally was summed up by Armando Gutiérrez, Raza Unida candidate for state representative in Austin, when he said, "We have been meeting here again and again to protest. We want this problem stopped and we mean now."

Paul Alurista was applauded when he said, "The cops here and around the country stand neither for law nor justice. They are the violent ones. They are the ones outside the law."

Pedro Vásquez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for attorney general and an organizer of the demonstration, also spoke. Interrupted repeatedly by applause, Vásquez pointed out the connection between cop attacks against Chicanos and Blacks in Texas and the recent racist attacks in Boston.

"We have the same enemy here as the brothers and sisters in Boston. The same enemy that overthrew the democratically elected government in Chile. They are killing our brothers and sisters in New York, Detroit, and Atlanta. The Socialist Workers Party supports the struggle against those killer-cops and this killer system."

Luj Torres from TU-CASA, the anti-deportation organization, said this was the largest display of unity of the Austin Chicano community in several years.

SWP gubernatorial candidate Sherry Smith attended the demonstration. She told reporters, "The killing of Tiburcio Soto is part of a pattern of police terror directed against the Chicano and Black communities in Texas and throughout the United States. We saw this with the murder of 12-year-old Santos Rodríguez last year and just two months ago the murder of two Black teen-agers in Dallas.

"The SWP calls for the removal of the police force from the Black and Chicano communities and for the right of the people living there to elect their own defense force."

SWP in East L.A. city council race

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—There are about 110,000 people in East Los Angeles, 85 percent of them Chicanos. More and more of them are hearing about the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Mariana Hernández and Manuel "Tank" Barrera for East L.A. city council.

On Nov. 5, the voters of East L.A. will decide whether or not to incorporate; that is, make East L.A. a city. At the same time they will also be electing a city council.

East L.A. is an island of unincorporated urban territory surrounded by the city of Los Angeles and other smaller municipalities. It is ruled by the Los Angeles County government.

Hernández and Barrera have been campaigning for a vote "For" incorporation. This will give this Chicano community the right to a city government, which it has been denied until now.

Hernández and Barrera and their supporters have spoken to thousands of Chicanos about the socialist campaigns.

They have had street rallies and meetings on high school and college campuses, and have had good coverage in the media.

About 6,000 copies of a bilingual brochure detailing the socialist program have reached the hands of Chicanos at the rallies and meetings and through door-to-door sales of *The Militant* in housing projects and other areas. Thousands more brochures will be distributed before election day.

Besides Barrera and Hernández, there will be 37 other candidates on the ballot in this officially nonpartisan election for five city council seats.

The City Terrace chapter of La Raza Unida Party (RUP) is running a slate of five activist candidates. They are Raúl Ruiz (editor of *La Raza* magazine), Arturo Sanchez, Celia Rodríguez, Daniel Zapata, and George García. Richard Santillán, author of *La Raza Unida*, is playing a prominent role in the campaign effort.

Because the RUP is running in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties, the Socialist Work-

ers Party urges a vote for any three of the Raza Unida candidates, in addition to Barrera and Hernández.

There are two major Democratic slates. One is the "Concerned Citizens for Responsible Government." The other, which seems to have the nod of the top Democrats, including incorporation figure Esteban Torres, is the four-member slate called "United Democrats for Incorporation."

Interest in the election heightened recently when county supervisor Ernest Debs "leaked" the news that there is a new study showing that there will not be enough revenue for the proposed city to provide necessary services. This is designed to add to the scare campaign that taxes will have to be raised if incorporation passes. Not surprisingly, Debs refuses to make this alleged report public.

The organized opposition to incorporation consists of a small minority of racist Anglos and conservative Mexican-Americans, most of whom are small property owners, businessmen, and slumlords. They have said that they don't want to live in a "Chicano city."

The Ad Hoc Committee to Incorporate East Los Angeles (ACTIELA) conducted a poll of East L.A. voters that showed that 38 percent favored incorporation, 31 percent opposed it, and the rest were undecided. To a large extent this is because of the scare campaign and lies of the opposition.

But it is also because of the inability of the Democratic and Republican candidates to wage an effective fight against the opposition to incorporation. Nor has ACTIELA, which is run by Democrats, fought effectively to counter the demagogic campaign of the opposition.

Many Chicanos favor incorporation so they can get rid of the Los Angeles County sheriff's department, which is notorious for its brutality and intimidation of Chicanos in East L.A.

The strongest support for incorporation comes from working-class and poor Chicanos. It is also among this layer of the population that there is the lowest percentage of registered voters.



Militant/Walter Lippmann



Militant/Ernest Harsch

SWP city council candidates Mariana Hernandez and 'Tank' Barrera

Instead of trying to mobilize this layer of the population through rallies and registration drives, ACTIELA has adapted to the fears of Anglos, small businessmen, and other relatively privileged sectors of the community.

In their campaigns, the Democrats put themselves forward as "qualified" individuals, and refuse to even acknowledge, let alone discuss, the glaring oppression of Chicanos in East L.A. Instead of answering the racist accusation that East L.A. will be a "crime-ridden" city because it is full of Chicanos, they say this is not a "Chicano issue." The Democrats have proposed that the sheriffs be maintained in East L.A. after the incorporation, until some unspecified time in the future, to "save money" and prevent "crime."

The reason the Mexican-American politicians are unable to fight effectively for the interests of the Chicano community is because they are tied to the apron strings of the Democratic and Republican parties.

They see incorporation of East L.A. not as a means for gaining rights for Chicanos and furthering the struggle for Chicano liberation. They are just interested in establishing a city government in East L.A. in order to

establish a power base for themselves, to better deal for positions for themselves in the Republican and Democratic parties.

Barrera and Hernández have taken a totally different approach. They have brought to light the racist degradation and misery Chicanos are forced to live in. They have explained that the reason East L.A. is unincorporated and gerrymandered is to keep Chicanos powerless and without a political voice.

The socialist candidates support incorporation as a step toward genuine Chicano control of the Chicano community. They favor removing the sheriff's department from East L.A. and replacing them with a security force drawn from and controlled by the community.

Barrera and Hernández also propose that the new city not cooperate with the racist deportation drives of the Immigration Service. They would ban sales of scab produce, make Spanish an official language, and institute rent control.

To help in the final push for the socialist alternative in East L.A., or to receive a free copy of the campaign brochure, contact: East L.A. Socialist Workers Campaign, 710 S. Westlake, Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Telephone: (213) 483-6738 or 483-1512.

Socialist arrested at Black high school

By MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

LOS ANGELES—Socialist Workers Party senatorial candidate Dan Styron was arrested Oct. 10 in the middle of a campaign rally outside Hamilton High School here.

Styron was held in handcuffs for three hours while police deliberated what to charge him with.

The cops finally cited Styron for violating a municipal ordinance against the use of amplified sound for commercial purposes within 500 feet of residential buildings. Styron's trial has been set for Nov. 21.

This arrest is the latest in a series of incidents of harassment of socialist speakers at Hamilton High. The ad-

ministration seems determined to prevent students at the predominantly Black school from hearing socialist ideas.

In the spring of 1973, Olga Rodríguez, then SWP candidate for mayor, was threatened with arrest and driven off campus when she came in response to an invitation to address a class.

Last spring two Hamilton seniors, Ron Addison and Donald Harvey, were expelled for listening to a socialist campaign rally. A defense effort by their parents, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the SWP campaign forced the administration to reinstate them.

Recently, socialist congressional candidate Omari Musa was harassed and frisked after speaking outside Hamilton.

Pointing to this history of political harassment and to the fact that campaigning for public office is not a "commercial purpose," a number of individuals have protested to city attorney Burt Pines and demanded that the charges against Styron be dropped.

Among them are Reverend Edgar Edwards of Immanuel United Church

of Christ; attorney Marge Buckley; Reverend Peter Christiansen of the First Unitarian Church; and Dr. Isidore Ziferstein of the Southern California Civil Liberties Union.

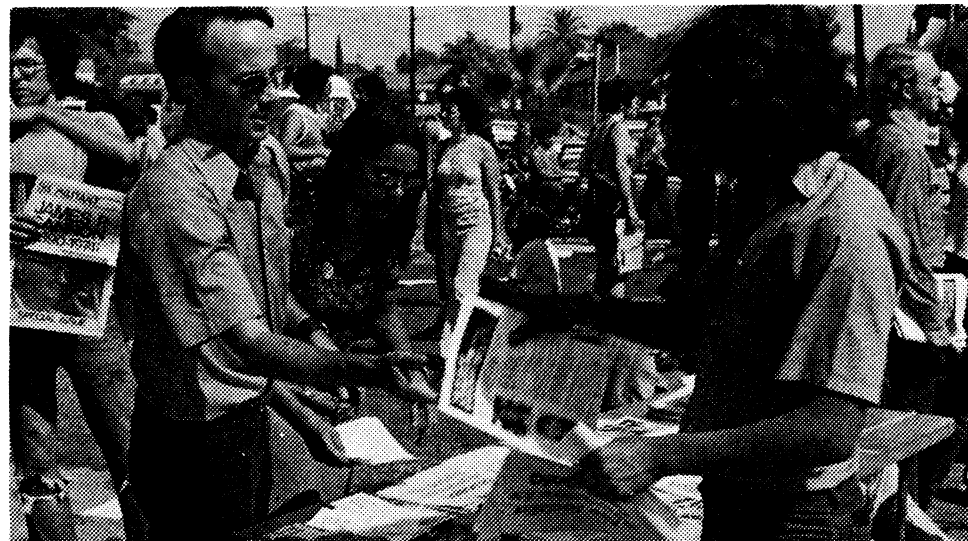
Only a few weeks ago the Democratic candidate for governor, Edmund Brown Jr., organized a big outdoor rally at Locke High School in Los Angeles, on school property in the middle of the school day.

Reporters quoted the principal as saying, "The school didn't invite him; the students did. But we weren't going to drive him away."

The Young Socialists for Rodríguez have written an open letter to the principal of Hamilton High, urging her to set up an assembly Oct. 29 to hear the gubernatorial candidates, including SWP candidate Olga Rodríguez.

Copies of this letter have been passed out to the students at Hamilton, along with an announcement that Rodríguez will hold a campaign rally after school that day if the administration refuses to schedule the assembly.

Attorneys and prominent civil libertarians will be present along with socialist campaign supporters.



Militant/Harry Ring

SWP senatorial candidate Dan Styron and SWP candidate for governor Olga Rodríguez discuss campaign with participants in recent Los Angeles antideportation march.

Conyers-McCutcheon debate

How can Black people win political

Hattie McCutcheon, the Michigan Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 1st C.D., debated her Democratic Party opponent, Congressman John Conyers, on Oct. 4.

The debate, which took place in front of an audience of 175 people at Wayne State University in Detroit, came about after weeks of pressure on Conyers from SWP supporters and others wanting to hear and compare the two candidates.

The following are excerpts from the presentations and rebuttals of the candidates.

Conyers:

Hattie McCutcheon is a hard person to say no to. I first met her going into an engagement that I had and she handed me a leaflet. She said, "Here, read this."

I said, "O. K., I'll put it in my pocket, but I have to speak before this group and I just flew in from Washington and I'm running a little bit late."

She said, "No, you'd better read this right now."

I looked at it and it said, "Hattie McCutcheon Challenges John Conyers to a Debate—Anywhere, Anytime, Anyplace." I said, "Wow!"

She said, "I'm Hattie McCutcheon."

Mainstream politics tends to ignore radical politics and radical politicians by pretending they're not there. [In addition], the Socialist Workers Party, in my judgment, has been more subject to political repression and hostility by this government than any, it seems to me, of the other radical parties.

Yesterday in Washington I got this letter. It's from the Political Rights Defense Fund, which says that they filed a suit based on the government harassment of the Socialist Workers Party.

They ask if I would join as one of the signatories, and they called me from New York—twice. I said, "With pleasure." I'm very proud and privileged to do that.

Now, I have to spend a few minutes talking about where I've been coming from in the Congress. I have voted against every military appropriation since I have come to the Congress in 1965.

In 1969 I supported Dick Austin for mayor [of Detroit] and helped put together a group of people who brought Austin within 1.5 percent of the vote needed to elect a Black mayor for the first time.

In 1972 I supported Chisholm when I could and McGovern. In '73 I put my efforts behind electing the first Black mayor of this city—Coleman Young. This year I'm supporting Sandor Levin for governor. And in 1976 who knows?

I've sponsored a lot of bills, but the first major domestic bill was the Full Opportunity Act, which was a \$30-million bill dealing with putting everybody to work, saving the cities, and dealing with all those kind of problems.

I introduced the first presidential impeachment resolution in the twentieth century.

I voted against the House Un-American Activities Committee and its funding and authorization every time



Democratic Congressman John Conyers (left) in Detroit debate with his Socialist Workers Party opponent in November elections, Hattie McCutcheon.

I could. And just yesterday I made some remarks on the floor dealing with the dismantling of its successor, the House Internal Security Committee.

I'm working for some broad concepts of peace, equality, and justice. That means that we must arrest and turn back the continued accumulation of wealth and power in this country and indeed in this world. That's what I will continue to work at, and that's why I'm here to explore these and other issues with you today.

McCutcheon:

What oppresses Black people is a system. That system of racial oppression is what keeps us in chains. Racism is a necessary part of the system of capitalism. Our problem is overcoming that system. That is why it is important that we look at the methods that the ruling class uses to impose its will upon us.

One method they use is military force. For example, the police terror in our communities or the frame-ups and assassinations of Black leaders. They use bribery, lies, and deceit. And they use trickery. That is what their two-party system is about. The idea that the Democratic Party is more liberal and more in our interests than the Republican Party is a trick.

With this trick millions of Blacks have been fooled into going to the polls every year and voting for oppression. And this is the crime of John Conyers, for he perpetuates the illusion that the Democratic Party operates in the interests of the Black community.

You know, 10 years ago right here in Detroit, Malcolm X said, "Any time you throw your weight behind a political party that controls two-thirds of the government, and that party can't keep the promises that it made to you during election time, and you're dumb enough to walk around continuing to identify yourself with that political party, you're not only a chump but you're a traitor to your race."

Well, the Democratic Party can't ever keep its election promises. Their promises are conscious lies to get us to vote for them.

The record of the Democratic Party is very clear. The recent stand of Sandor Levin and his running mate

Frank Kelley on the racist decision of the U.S. Supreme Court on school busing is just one example. They hailed that decision and they are at the top of the Democratic slate, a slate endorsed by John Conyers.

If you go over the gains that Black people, that workers as a whole have been able to make, you will find that the Democratic Party stands out either by its opposition to those gains or by its inaction.

Civil rights were won not by electing Democrats to Congress or the White House or the statehouse. They were won by marching in the streets, demonstrating in massive numbers, putting the force and power of our numbers and our determination up against the state cops, the National Guard, the city cops, and the politicians who ordered the cops to beat our heads.

Let me give another example. There has been a wave of police terror in the streets of our cities. The response in New York, in Atlanta, in Detroit, and in Newark has been mass demonstrations.

And what has been the response of the Democratic Party? Well, in Newark, Mayor Gibson, a Black and a leader of the Democratic Party, has taken responsibility for calling out the cops on the community.

And in Atlanta, Mayor Jackson, a Black leader of the Democratic Party, has not called off the cops, but sanctioned their terror. The Democratic Party has been responsible for directing that cop terror against the community.

Why was that so? Why is it that the Democratic Party has always opposed our fights? Let's look at what the Democratic Party is organized around.

There are a lot of diverse forces in the Democratic Party. They range from the Kennedy liberals to the Wallace KKK racists; from the "Scoop" Jackson warhawks to the wing that John Conyers represents, the liberal Black Democrats.

What kind of glue can hold such a collection of people together in one party? The glue is agreement on a very basic question—maintaining the capitalist system under which we live. The system that exploits us and oppresses us.

Well, as a socialist, I don't think this system, this racist system of wars, depressions, unemployment, inflation, sexism, should be preserved in any form.

To win our liberation I think we

need a strategy that rejects working in the system and instead organizes our power outside of the parties that support capitalism. I'm for Black people breaking with the Democratic and Republican parties and forming a mass party of our own.

However, whenever the idea of an independent Black party is raised, Black leaders like Conyers say that now is not the time to launch such a party.

In 1964 the Freedom Now Party was launched as an experiment in independent Black political action. Mr. Conyers did not support it, but ran against it as a Democrat. Mr. Conyers won and the Freedom Now Party lost—and so did Black people in Detroit. Our lives have not improved as a result of Mr. Conyers sitting in Congress for a whole decade.

What should people do this year? Nov. 5 is just a month away. I believe that the consistent fighters for liberation do have a choice. They can vote for the Socialist Workers Party, which stands for and organizes for the strategy I have outlined.

Back in the days of slavery there were two views among the slaves. The field slaves said to be free we must burn down the plantation, kill the master, and run away.

The house slaves—those who lived in the master's house, wore the master's worn-out clothes, and ate the scraps off the master's plate—the house slaves said, "I too hate slavery, but what you propose can't be done. What we should do is try to find a kinder master. A master who wouldn't beat us as much, who wouldn't sell us down the river, and who would give us time off on Sunday to pray."

Now both the house slave and the field slave hated slavery, but they had different programs to solve that problem.

Well, we are not so far removed. Whether you think so or not, we are still slaves and we still have the problem of either ending the slavery system or trying to find a kinder master. If it isn't possible to end the slavery system, then you had better find a kinder master. But if it is possible, then that is what we must do. To do less is to help the master keep us slaves.

I and the other members of the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party know that it is

power?

possible to end capitalism and to win our liberation. It is possible if we organize ourselves to do it.

Conyers rebuttal:

There's a fundamental question that she has raised. Now, let's have everybody think: The Democratic Party ain't shit! It's time we stopped dealing with it! Right? Right on!

O.K., what do you do after you decide to leave the Democratic Party? I mean, think about that. That's easy to rap about, getting out of the party — I've been listening to that ever since I've been in it! But does somebody during the question and answer period have a solution?

If it's the Socialist Workers Party, socialist workers, you'd better start telling them something about the party. I know what's wrong with the Democratic Party — better than any of you here. But where are we going and how do you gain radical credibility to do what she wants to have done?

You can't do it by quoting Malcolm X. He never said join the Socialist Workers Party. He never said join a Black party. Because Malcolm was looking for the way just like I am, just like King was, and just like this beautiful sister is.

Now, when the Freedom Now Party ran, they ran against me! I didn't run against them. Hell, I won the primary and Milton Henry and Cleage came out against me. They're all my big supporters now because I told them then what I'll tell you now: A Black party can't make it alone in Michigan or in the U.S.A. Figure it out, it's arithmetic!

McCutcheon rebuttal:

I want to take up the question of what is reasonable and practical.

Let me summarize the Socialist Workers Party strategy for Black liberation. Massive action, be it demonstrations, rallies, or marches, is a key element of this strategy.

The second key element is maintaining our complete political independence from the parties of the system that oppresses us.

Is this a practical strategy?

A brief look at our history answers this question. Who was more practical in the 1840s? Was it those who said the way to end slavery was to write to Congress or work for the election of better Whigs or Democrats who could be influenced for abolition?

Or was it those who said, "No, we should organize now, independently, outside the two parties if we are to get anything done." Who was more practical?

When the antiwar movement took to the streets, in the hundreds of thousands, we were cautioned that we would alienate the good liberal congressmen. We were told by the "prac-

Continued on page 26

Campaigning for Socialism

'REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS FOR ADACHI': Women in Pennsylvania who are outraged by recent attacks on the right to abortion have little choice between the Democratic and Republican candidates for U.S. Senate.

The state legislature recently passed a law requiring a husband's consent for a married woman and parents' consent for a woman under 18 to get an abortion.

Neither the incumbent Republican Senator Richard Schweiker nor his Democratic opponent, Pittsburgh Mayor Pete Flaherty, opposed the bill.

Moreover, Schweiker voted in Congress for an amendment to deny the use of federal funds for abortions, and Flaherty has stated that he is personally opposed to abortion.

As a result, a number of women in Pennsylvania have organized "Republicans and Democrats for Adachi." They point out that Christina Adachi, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate, is the only woman candidate and the only candidate who supports the right to abortion.

The group is spearheaded by JoAnn Evans Gardner, a Republican and leader of the National Organization for Women in Pennsylvania, and Mary Robison, a former Democratic

are continuing to confront him and demand that he follow through on his pledge.

Brown and Gilligan will both appear on a live television program on Oct. 30. The broadcast is scheduled for 7:30 p.m. on WOSU-TV.

On Nov. 1 Brown will debate the other gubernatorial candidates at the Cleveland City Club. That debate will be broadcast live by major radio stations in northern Ohio.

CALIFORNIA CODEL PICKETS BROWN: The California Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) held an informational picket line Oct. 18 in San Francisco outside a "Brown for Governor" fund-raising event.

Edmund Brown Jr., Democratic candidate for governor, is now California secretary of state and is in charge of enforcing the election law.

The pickets called on Brown to take part in a public discussion of the California law.

CoDEL has filed suit in federal court on behalf of five political parties, including the Socialist Workers Party and La Raza Unida Party, challenging the law, which is the most restrictive and undemocratic in the country. In the past 25 years no independent



Militant/Janice Cline

Socialist candidate for governor of Ohio, Nancy Brown.

firmed by the experiences of the Pennsylvania SWP campaign.

Meetings to hear the SWP candidates or other campaign spokespeople have drawn 40 people at Shippensburg State College, 48 at Penn State, 30 at Dickinson College, and 70 at Brandywine College in Delaware.

Local chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance have been newly formed at Bloomsburg and Shippensburg state colleges.

MISSOURI SOCIALIST BACKS BOSTON FIGHT FOR DESEGREGATION: Barbara Mutnick, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Missouri, said in a talk at Florissant Valley Community College Oct. 16 that she will focus the remaining weeks of her campaign on mobilizing support for Black civil rights in Boston.

Mutnick denounced her opponents, Democratic incumbent Thomas Eagleton and Republican Thomas Curtis, for their opposition to busing and failure to stand up for the rights of Black people.

"Curtis recently expressed his wholehearted agreement with President Ford's statement fanning the flames of the racist mobs in Boston," she said.

"Eagleton's opposition to busing in the name of what he calls the 'neighborhood schools concept' is a blatant attempt to pick up racist votes from the Wallace wing of the Democratic Party."

Mutnick vowed to "explain to as many Missourians as possible what is at stake in Boston." As a first step, she said, a campaign rally would be held to hear a firsthand report from Willie Reid, SWP congressional candidate in Illinois, who just returned from a fact-finding trip to Boston.

COLORADO CANDIDATE BLASTS NIXON PARDON: Joyce Tally, SWP candidate for Colorado University regent, addressed a crowd of 70 people at the Denver Militant Forum Oct. 11.

The socialist candidate joined with speakers from the American Indian Movement, Chicano Welfare Rights Organization, Clergy and Laity Concerned, and others to speak out against the hypocrisy of Ford's pardon of Watergate criminal Nixon on the one hand, and his refusal to grant unconditional amnesty to war resisters on the other.

Tally traced the history of this double standard of capitalist "justice" from the frame-up of Sacco and Vanzetti to the Attica Brothers.

Fifteen members of the American Indian Movement attended the forum and many spoke during the discussion period against the government's frame-up trial of Indians in South Dakota as well as other illegal acts such as the secret bombing of Cambodia.

—ANDY ROSE



Militant/Mark Sattinoff

Recent demonstration in Pittsburgh. Angered by capitalist politicians' stand against abortion, a group of Republican and Democratic women is organizing support for Socialist Workers Party senatorial candidate Christina Adachi.

Party committeewoman who is now coordinator of Roman Catholics for the Right to Choose.

Both are acting as individuals and not on behalf of their organizations.

OHIO GOVERNOR AGREES TO DEBATE SWP CANDIDATE: Ohio Governor John Gilligan, a Democrat, has been campaigning around the state blasting Republican candidate James Rhodes for refusing to appear on the same platform with the other contenders.

Rhodes, himself a former governor, gained national notoriety in May 1970 when he ordered the National Guard onto the Kent State University campus.

Speaking at a meeting of 400 Ohio State University students in Columbus on Oct. 7, Gilligan repeated his call for free and open debate.

Nancy Brown, SWP candidate for governor, responded during the discussion period: "You said you were for free and open discussion among the candidates. I'm for that also. My name is Nancy Brown and I'm the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Are you willing to debate me — at a time and place of your own choosing?"

Amid clapping and cheers from the students, Gilligan felt compelled to accept the challenge.

Since then Gilligan's office has stalled on setting a date for the debate, and supporters of the SWP campaign

candidate has qualified for statewide office, and only three times have smaller parties qualified.

A preliminary court hearing on the suit has been set for Dec. 13. For more information, contact CoDEL, Box 40445, San Francisco, Calif. 94140.

SWP CAMPAIGN WINS SUPPORT ON PENNSYLVANIA CAMPUSES:

Last week The Militant reported that Debby Bustin and Maceo Dixon, who are touring the country to build support for the SWP campaigns, were finding an increased interest in socialism among students. Militant correspondent Jo Otero says this is con-



Militant/Henry Snipper

SWP senatorial candidate in Missouri, Barbara Mutnick.

Will Ramsey Clark 'clean up' politics?

By REBECCA FINCH

NEW YORK—Ramsey Clark, the Democratic Party nominee for U. S. Senate from New York, portrays himself as a "people's candidate," a man "running against the system that led to a Watergate at home and a Vietnam abroad."

Seeking to capitalize on the massive revulsion against Watergate, Clark has made campaign financing his central issue against Republican incumbent Jacob Javits.

The most publicized aspect of Clark's campaign is his \$100 limit on contributions. He advocates that other candidates follow the same policy, and he supports campaign finance disclosure laws that require candidates to turn over lists of all their contributors.

Clark has publicly supported a number of civil liberties defense cases, and he has a reputation as an anti-war figure.

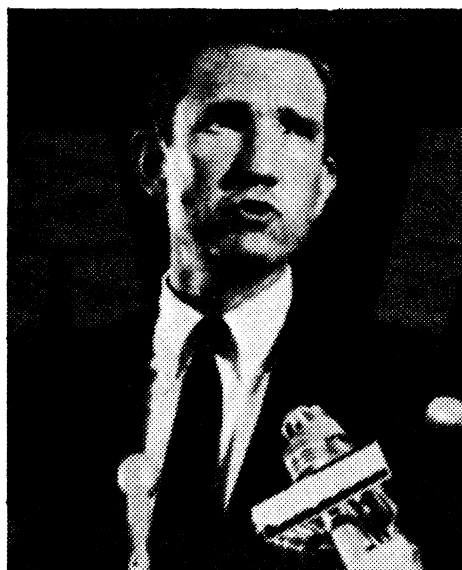
Such stands have touched a responsive chord among many New York voters, including some radicalized

Rebecca Finch is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate from New York.

young people. Starting his campaign as a long-shot underdog, Clark went on to win the Democratic primary, and is now only 7 percentage points behind Javits in the opinion polls.

Clark's campaign has become a symbol of the campaign "reform" movement that claims politics can be "cleaned up" within the Democratic and Republican parties.

Clark says our problems cannot be solved until "we've liberated politics and government from the domination of wealth." Will disclosure laws and



CLARK: A 'populist' who feels right at home with war spending, wage controls, and weapons for Israel.

limits on contributions really accomplish this? Will they change the fundamental character of the Democratic and Republican parties, which up until now have always served the interests of the wealthy minority?

Ramsey Clark's own program and record prove just the opposite. Far from running *against* the system responsible for Vietnam and Watergate, Clark supports that system 100 percent.

Clark's record

Clark's campaign literature says, "Nixon was right. To impose his kind of order on America, he had to get rid of Attorney General Ramsey Clark. Clark stood against everything Nixon was preparing for this country. . . ." But look at the facts:

Clark became assistant U. S. attorney general in 1961 and continued as a prominent official of the Justice Department throughout the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. He was acting attorney general from 1966 to 1967 and attorney general from 1967 to 1969.

Those administrations organized the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, sent 30,000 Marines to Santo Domingo in 1965 to crush a popular rebellion, fabricated the Gulf of Tonkin incident as a cover to escalate the war in Vietnam, and eventually sent 500,000 troops into Vietnam.

If Clark disagreed with any of these policies, he never said so publicly or lifted a finger to let the American people know the truth about the government's actions.

During the same years, wiretapping was stepped up to unprecedented levels by the Justice Department. In 1961, the FBI, which is under the jurisdiction of the attorney general's office, initiated the "Socialist Workers Party Disruption Program." Clark made no known protest against these violations of civil liberties.

COINTELPRO

While Clark was the highest official in the Justice Department, the FBI initiated its murderous "counterintelligence program" (COINTELPRO) against the Black movement.

According to secret memos written in 1967 by J. Edgar Hoover and revealed this year as a result of a court suit against the government, the purpose of this secret-police plot was to "expose, disrupt," and "otherwise neutralize" certain Black groups and individuals.

After the program was initiated, violent repression of the Black Panthers and other nationalist groups reached fever pitch. Panther headquarters were

raided, activists were framed-up and imprisoned, and many leaders were murdered.

Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated just one month after a secret memo ordered the FBI to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah'" in the Black movement.

Clark may claim today that he "didn't know" what the FBI was up to. That's the same feeble excuse used by Nixon, Haldeman, Ehrlichman, and the rest, and it is hardly more credible coming from Ramsey Clark after he spent eight years in the Justice Department.

In fact, Clark himself sent a memo to J. Edgar Hoover, dated Sept. 14, 1967, that directed him to "use the maximum available resources, investigative and intelligence, to collect and report all facts upon the question as to whether there has been or is a scheme or conspiracy by any group . . . to plan, promote or aggravate riot activity."

Clark's memo also said that "sources of informants in black nationalist organizations" should be "developed and expanded."

Clark's participation in other repressive government activities is a matter of public record. As attorney general he approved the prosecution of anti-war fighters like Benjamin Spock and William Sloane Coffin.

The record shows that government secrecy, lying, frame-ups, violent repression, and imperialist wars did not begin under Nixon. Clark condoned, participated in, and directed just such activities as a high official in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, thereby setting the stage for "everything Nixon was preparing."

Backs U.S. imperialism

Clark fully supports the right of the United States to maintain a vast military apparatus. He advocates military spending of \$65-billion a year, which he says is needed for "national safety."

But whether it is called "national security" or "national safety," the only purpose of the war machine is to uphold U. S. corporate interests abroad and crush any challenge to U. S. military, economic, and political domination.

Clark's position paper on the Middle East says, "The United States must make a complete and unequivocal commitment to provide Israel the invincible armament that will deter any attack. . . . Our passion for freedom and love of democracy compels the preservation of this small outpost of freedom and democracy in a sea of tyranny."

The Israeli state was carved out through the conquest and expulsion of the Palestinian people. This "small outpost of freedom and democracy" is in reality a racist, militarist settler-state that serves as an outpost for U. S. imperialism.

Clark has also joined Ford and Kissinger's saber-rattling campaign to blame the Arab nations for inflation, instead of putting the blame where it belongs—on U. S. oil and agribusiness corporations and the U. S. government.

In an Oct. 6 debate with Javits, Clark denounced the Arab nations as "pirates and tyrants" and called for a boycott of Mideast oil.

It's only a short step from advocating economic retaliation against the Arab countries, a \$65-billion war budget, and "invincible armaments" for Israel—to more wars and more CIA plots.

In contrast to both Clark and Javits, my campaign stands unequivocally on the side of the Palestinian people in their struggle to regain their land. I am fighting for an end to U. S. support to all reactionary regimes, including Israel, and for the elimination of the entire war budget.

Wage controls

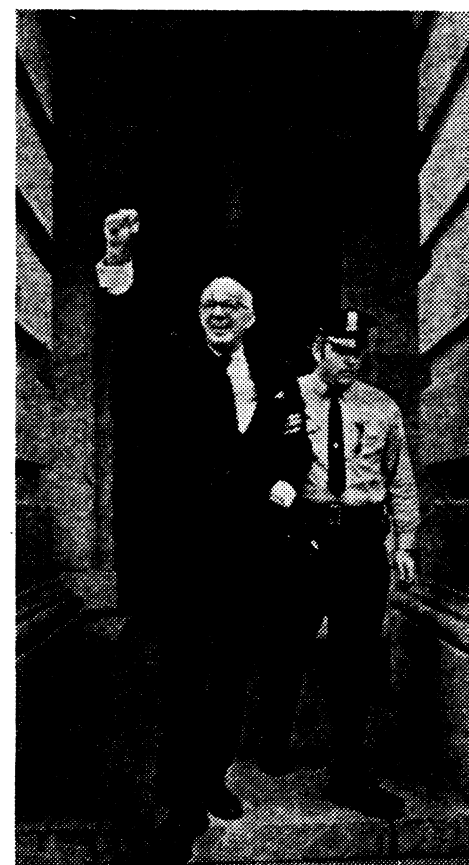
Clark advocates wage-price controls as the major step needed to curb inflation.

Although he admits that the controls of the Nixon administration "placed a tighter lid on wages than on profits," Clark contends that controls can be applied equally to both.

Clark is critical of Nixon not only for allowing price hikes by corporations but also for allowing "inflation wage settlements by major unions."

But the wage settlements Clark calls inflationary were at most catch-up increases. Working people's purchasing power was effectively frozen by rising prices from 1965 to 1971. With Nixon's controls, workers again lost ground, while prices and profits soared.

The fact is that the capitalist government cannot and will not control prices. Wages can easily be controlled,



Under Clark, Justice Department tried to railroad Dr. Benjamin Spock to jail for his antiwar views.

because every employer will gladly act as an enforcer. But is impossible for the government to monitor and effectively control prices at all the different levels of production, processing, and distribution and at hundreds of thousands of retail outlets.

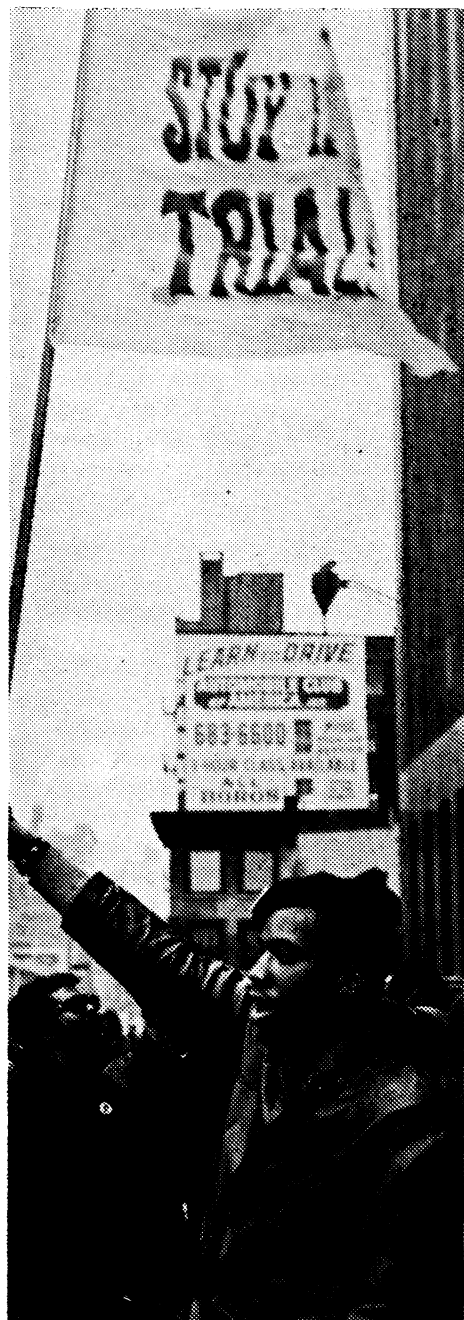
Moreover, a government of Democrats and Republicans will never even seriously try to hold down prices, because that would hold down the profits of the corporations and bankers that these parties serve.

The Socialist Workers Party advocates substantial catch-up wage increases and cost-of-living clauses for all workers, to increase wages to match every increase in prices. Cost-of-living provisions should also cover Social Security, welfare, unemployment, pensions, and veterans' benefits.

'Clean up politics'?

Even on Clark's pet issue of "cleaning up" campaign finances, his underlying commitment to capitalist politics

Continued on page 26



FBI's conspiracy against Black Panthers began while Clark was attorney general.

VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS!

Listed below are the Socialist Workers Party candidates for federal, state, and local office in the Nov. 5 elections. Ballot row or place is indicated where known. Write-in candidates are designated with an asterisk (*).

Also listed are those candidates of La Raza Unida Party for whom the SWP urges a vote, and the SWP's stand on major ballot referenda.

If you have any questions about how to vote for the socialist candidates, contact the SWP campaign headquarters in your area. Addresses and telephone numbers are listed on page 26.

California

- *Dan Styron—U.S. Senate
- *Olga Rodríguez—governor
- *Roland Sheppard—lieutenant governor
- *Laura Moorhead—attorney general
- *Peggy Wilson—secretary of state
- *James Lewis—controller
- *Ken Davey—treasurer
- *Nat Weinstein—U.S. Congress, 5th C.D.
- *Jon Olmsted—U.S. Congress, 6th C.D.
- *Paul Boutelle—U.S. Congress, 8th C.D.
- *Virginia Garza—U.S. Congress, 25th C.D.
- *Omari Musa—U.S. Congress, 28th C.D.
- *Jo Della-Giustina—U.S. Congress, 41st C.D.
- *Raúl Gonzales—state senate, 24th dist.

East Los Angeles

Mariana Hernández—city council
Manuel "Tank" Barrera—city council

The City Terrace chapter of La Raza Unida Party is running a slate of five candidates for city council. The SWP urges a vote for any three of the RUP candidates in addition to Hernández and Barrera (see article on page 5).

Vote *yes* for incorporation of East Los Angeles as a city.

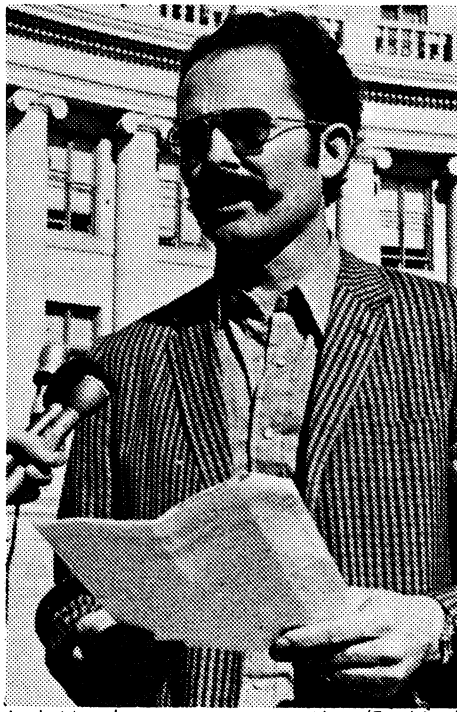
San Francisco

Sylvia Weinstein—board of education
Milton Chee—Bay Area Rapid Transit board

Vote *no* on Proposition L, which would lower wages and restrict union rights of public employees.

Colorado

- *Jack Marsh—U.S. Senate
- *Nora Danielson—governor
- *Marie Head—lieutenant governor



Jack Marsh

Militant/Frank Lord

*Joel Houtman—U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.

*Joyce Tally—board of regents, Univ. of Colo.

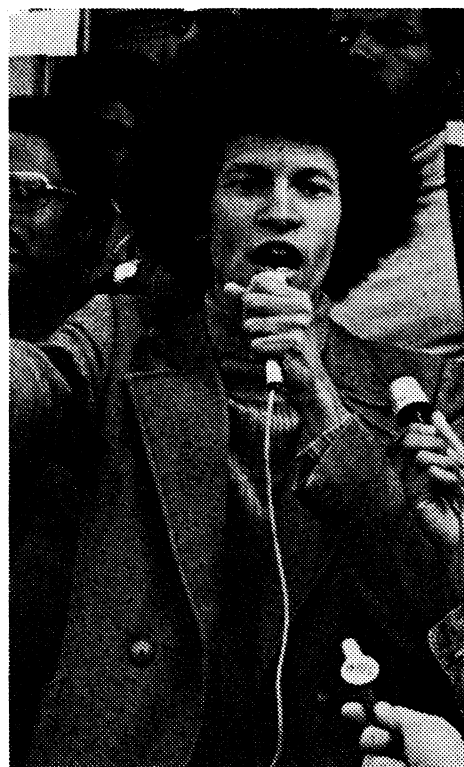
The SWP also urges a vote for the Raza Unida Party candidates for all positions where there is no SWP candidate. These are:

- *Brian Sanchez—U.S. Congress, 4th C.D.
- *Juan Erebia—state representative, 51st dist.
- *Bob Romero—state senator, 28th dist.
- *Robert Padilla—state representative, 50th dist.
- *Silver Gurule—Weld County commissioner
- Roberto "Che" Luera—board of regents, Univ. of Colo.

Vote *no* on Amendment 2, which would reinstate the death penalty.
Vote *yes* on Amendment 10, which would amend the state constitution to require a popular vote before any nuclear blasts are detonated in the state.

Georgia

- *Elizabeth Lariscy—U.S. Senate
- *Vince Eagan—governor
- *Anne Teesdale—lieutenant governor
- *James Harris—U.S. Congress, 5th C.D.



Vince Eagan

Militant/George Basley

Illinois

Ed Heisler—U.S. Senate
Suzanne Haig—state treasurer
Willie Reid—U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.
Antonio DeLeon, Brian Williams, and Mary Wismer—board of trustees, Univ. of Ill.

Indiana

- *David Ellis—U.S. Senate
- Harold Schlechtweg—U.S. Congress, 7th C.D.
- *Greg Peterson—U.S. Congress, 11th C.D.

Massachusetts

Donald Gurewitz—governor
Ollie Bivins—lieutenant governor
Jeanne Lafferty—attorney general
*Randi Dolph—U.S. Congress, 8th C.D.
*Jeannette Tracy Bliss—U.S. Congress, 9th C.D.

Boston

Vote *yes* on Question 7, which would abolish the racist Boston school committee.



Willie Reid

Militant/Terry Quilico

Michigan

In addition to the candidates listed below, the Michigan SWP is running candidates in all 19 congressional districts. The SWP is listed in the fourth place on the Michigan ballot.

Robin Maisel—governor
Ruth Getts—Lieutenant governor
*B.R. Washington—attorney general
Rachele Fruit—secretary of state
Sandra Knoll—state senate, 4th dist.
Linda Slodki—state representative, 4th dist.
Dean Denno—state representative, 7th dist.
Shannon Measaw—state representative, 17th dist.
Burton Lee Artz and Gertrude Hawkins—state board of education
Arturo Ramirez and Michael D. Kelly—Wayne State Univ. board of governors
Steve Brede and Claudia Hommel—Univ. of Mich. board of regents
Frank E. Brough and Patrice Gajewski—Mich. State Univ. board of trustees

Minnesota

Jane Van Deusen—governor
Ralph Schwartz—lieutenant governor
Ed Jurenas—U.S. Congress, 5th C.D.

Missouri

*Barbara Mutnick—U.S. Senate

Vote *no* on Proposition 1, a campaign "reform" measure that would require disclosure of contributors and restrict union political rights.

New York

Row E
Rebecca Finch—U.S. Senate
Derrick Morrison—governor
James Mendieta—lieutenant governor
Raymond Markey—attorney general
Samuel Manuel—controller
Maxine Williams—U.S. Congress, 12th C.D.
*Robb Wright—U.S. Congress, 16th C.D.
Katherine Sojourner—U.S. Congress, 18th C.D.
*Cecil Lampkin—U.S. Congress, 19th C.D.
Claire Moriarty—U.S. Congress, 20th C.D.

Ohio

*Philip Lazar—U.S. Senate
Nancy Brown—governor
Herman Kirsch—lieutenant governor
*Carol Knoll—attorney general
*Charles Mitts—U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.
*Marguerite Snyder—U.S. Congress, 21st C.D.

*Bernie Senter—U.S. Congress, 23rd C.D.

Oregon

- *John Studer—U.S. Senate
- *Stacey Seigle—governor
- *Robin Mace—U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.
- *Caroline Fowlkes—labor commissioner

Pennsylvania

- *Christina Adachi—U.S. Senate
- *Roberta Scherr—governor
- Fred Stanton—lieutenant governor
- *Lea Tammi—U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.
- *Tony Austin—U.S. Congress, 2nd C.D.
- *Jon Teitelbaum—U.S. Congress, 14th C.D.
- *Karen Pewitt—U.S. Congress, 20th C.D.

Texas

Fourth place on ballot
Sherry Smith—governor
Dan Fein—lieutenant governor
Pedro Vásquez—attorney general
Kris Vásquez—U.S. Congress, 18th C.D.
Jill Fein—U.S. Congress, 22nd C.D.
Sara Johnston—state board of education, 18th dist.
William Rayson—land commissioner
Rick Congress—railroad commissioner
Sas Scoggins—comptroller
Don Sorsa—state representative, 90th dist.

The Texas Raza Unida Party has fielded candidates for state and local offices from governor to county commissioners and constables. The RUP has ballot status statewide. The SWP calls for a vote for all RUP candidates for positions where there is no SWP candidate.

Washington

Clare Fraenzl—U.S. Senate
Fred Lovgren—U.S. Congress, 1st C.D.
Toby Emmerich—state senate, 43rd dist.
Pat Bethard—state legislature, 43rd dist., position 1
Mike Downs—state legislature, 43rd dist., position 2
Jeff Ford—King County prosecuting attorney

District of Columbia

*Toba Singer—nonvoting delegate to Congress
Nan Bailey—mayor
Allan Budka—city council chairman
Anne Powers—city council at-large
Sara Smith—city council at-large



Nan Bailey

Militant/Eric Simpson

Socialists expose campaign 'reforms'

Common Cause pressed to reverse stand

By NANCY COLE

The Socialist Workers Party's efforts to protect its supporters from victimization and harassment by refusing to disclose the identities of campaign contributors has won support from civil libertarians throughout the country.

A major exception is Common Cause, the self-styled 'citizens' lobby,' which insists that the democratic rights of contributors to the Socialist Workers campaigns must be subordinated to enforcement of the new campaign disclosure laws that allegedly will "clean up politics."

Common Cause's latest move was to file a request in federal court to become a codefendant with the government in the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) suit in behalf of the SWP campaign committees. The lawsuit seeks to have the disclosure provisions of the federal campaign law declared unconstitutional as applied to the SWP campaign committees.

Although opposed by the ACLU, the Common Cause request was recently approved by a federal judge.

Throughout the country, those who support the SWP's exemption from these laws have begun a campaign to reach Common Cause members with an open letter urging the group to reverse its position. Among those who have signed the open letter are former U.S. senator Eugene McCarthy, MIT professor Noam Chomsky,

Philip Berrigan, and congressmen Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) and John Conyers (D-Mich.).

"Campaign 74," a series of 150 Common Cause meetings across the country, has provided a focus for distribution of the open letter. At an Oct. 7 meeting in Queens, N.Y., an irate Common Cause member demanded to know the story behind the open letter, which had been handed out at the meeting.

David Cohen, executive vice-president of Common Cause, answered that he knew all about the SWP challenge to the disclosure laws "because it has been coming up in all the meetings I speak at."

Cohen went on to state his unconditional support for the campaign "reform" laws. "We are prepared to help the SWP in their fight against harassment," he concluded, "but it is too bad they are trying to keep campaign finances underground."

From the audience, SWP senatorial candidate Rebecca Finch responded, "These disclosure laws are not relevant to my campaign or to those of any other SWP candidates. We are not the ones who get 'laundered' money from business executives or suitcases full of cash from corporate lobbies."

For the SWP to turn over lists of contributors, she explained, would have nothing to do with exposing corruption. On the contrary, it would

mean giving the government new lists of people to be wiretapped, fired from their jobs, and harassed by the FBI and local police.

Finch urged everyone at the meeting to repudiate the national position of Common Cause by signing the open letter and to support the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance lawsuit against government attacks.

On the same night a meeting of 400 people at Hunter College in Manhattan heard Common Cause President John Conway. In an outrageous violation of civil liberties, representatives of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support and funds for the SWP suit, were forced to take down their literature table, and those distributing the open letter were repeatedly told to stop.

During the discussion, Peter Camejo, cochairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, had to cut short his remarks on the issues raised in the open letter when it looked as though he would be physically prevented from continuing.

This blatant attempt to prohibit Common Cause supporters from hearing the SWP's position was in direct conflict with a statement by David Cohen at the Queens meeting that "Common Cause is in favor of literature being passed out at our meetings, and we are in favor of the competition of ideas."

To ward off criticism of their reactionary position, Common Cause spokespeople often say that the SWP suit is an "adequate remedy" for harassment of the party, and try to give the impression that Common Cause backs the suit. Both Cohen and Conway, however, have refused to become endorsers of the SWP suit.

At another Common Cause meeting recently in Ann Arbor, Mich., SWP congressional candidate Martha Pettit confronted national lobbyist Mike Cole with the open letter. She was followed by Democratic State Representative Perry Bullard, who expressed his support for exemption for the SWP, agreed to sign the open letter, and urged others there to do so also.

In Pittsburgh on Oct. 2, SWP senatorial candidate Christina Adachi challenged David Cohen to a debate after his speech to a Common Cause meeting of 200. In addition to repeating his position against exemption, Cohen further established Common Cause's indifference to the civil liberties of the SWP by refusing to endorse the right of Adachi and SWP gubernatorial candidate Roberta

Scherr to appear on the ballot. He stated that their exclusion for being less than 30 years old was a constitutional issue, and Common Cause "upholds the constitution."

When pressed, a local Common Cause coordinator agreed to arrange a debate between Adachi and a Common Cause representative. This agreement is a reversal of previous national policy not to debate. John Conway now says that they will be willing to debate on this question "where it



Christina Adachi, SWP senatorial candidate in Pennsylvania, asks for debate with Common Cause.

will be of benefit."

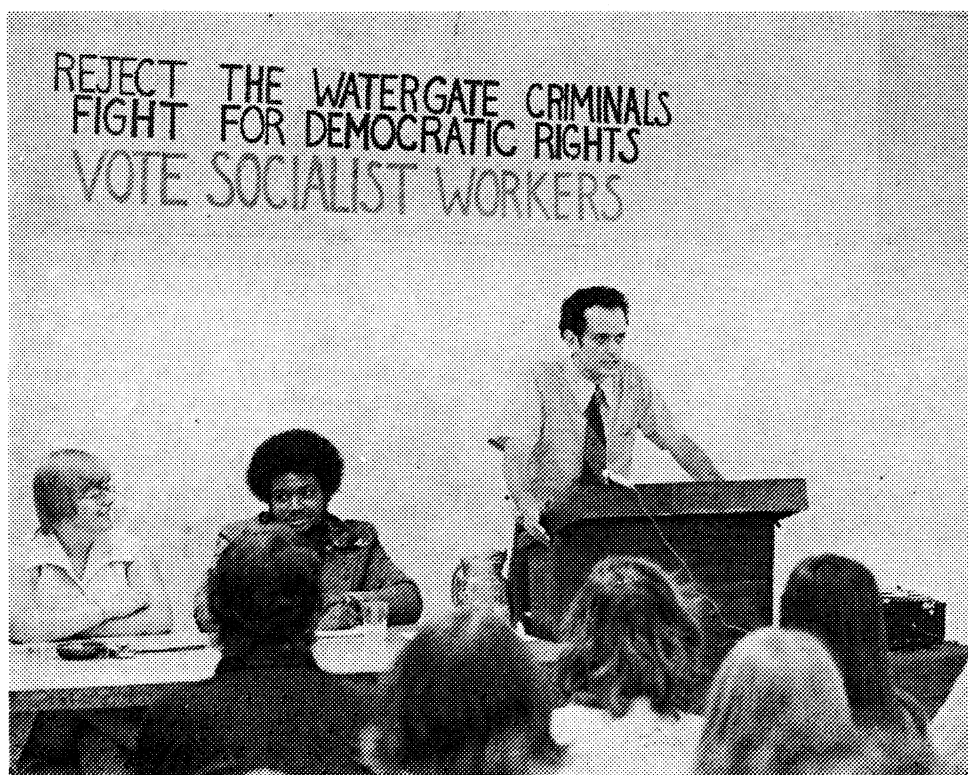
Earlier scheduled debates between supporters of the SWP position and Common Cause had to be canceled in both Seattle and Houston when local members of Common Cause were ordered to back out by their national office.

In Los Angeles, the local Common Cause reversed its refusal to debate after SWP campaign supporters leafleted a Common Cause meeting with an open challenge to debate.

That debate was held Sept. 27 at the West Side Los Angeles Militant Forum with Alvin Loch from Common Cause, Steve Schmuger from the Socialist Workers campaign, and Ed Koupal, executive director of People's Lobby.

Koupal announced at the debate that People's Lobby, which was a major backer of California's new disclosure law, Proposition 9, intends to file a court brief in support of the SWP campaign committee's lawsuit against the California disclosure law.

For free copies of the open letter, write to Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



Militant/Mark Allen

SWP leader Peter Camejo speaking in Minneapolis. Common Cause wouldn't allow him to speak from floor at their meeting in New York.

Socialists challenge campaign laws in Colo., Tex.

The challenges by the Socialist Workers campaign committees to the campaign "reform" laws are moving ahead as the dates for filing preelection reports approach.

The state laws that require the SWP campaigns to turn over the names, addresses, and places of employment of their contributors differ in many ways, including the appeal procedures.

For example, the Minnesota SWP campaign recently won exemption from disclosing its contributors under a provision in the Minnesota law specifically allowing for exemption if a number of hardships can be proven before an ethics commission. In other states, the laws have no such hearing provision or the state has rejected the SWP campaign's request for a public hearing. In these cases, the campaign committees are filing lawsuits.

On Oct. 10, the Colorado American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed suit on behalf of the SWP, challenging the constitutionality of the Colorado Campaign Reform Act of 1974 as applied to the Colorado Socialist Workers campaign committee.

At a well-attended news conference announcing the suit, a list of supporters for the court action was released, including Penfield Tate, mayor of Boulder, Colo.; José Calderón of Apostles for Justice; and State Representative Arie Taylor, one of the sponsors of the law.

The next day, Derrick Morrison, SWP gubernatorial candidate in New York, held a news conference at the state board of elections in Albany to announce his campaign committee's challenge to the New York disclosure law.

As TV crews filmed Morrison turn-

ing over the financial reports due on that date, he explained that the reports did not contain the names and addresses of contributors because he was not going to give the government "a new list of socialist supporters to harass."

The New York Civil Liberties Union has requested a hearing at which to present the socialist case for exemption.

In the Texas challenge, a motion for a temporary court order barring enforcement of the disclosure law for the Oct. 7 filing date was refused.

The federal judge did, however, rule in favor of the request for a three-judge panel to consider the constitutional questions involved.

In the federal suit, a request filed in Washington, D.C., for a three-judge court was denied Oct. 10. This decision has been appealed by the national ACLU.

—N.C.

Socialists will appeal in Wash.

Ruling against SWP in disclosure law fight

By ROBERT SPENCER

OLYMPIA, Wash.—The Washington Public Disclosure Commission (PDC) ruled here Oct. 16 that the Socialist Workers Party 1974 Washington State Campaign Committee must turn over lists of its contributors to the government. The Socialist Workers Party immediately announced plans to "appeal this ruling through the courts until we win a reversal."

The SWP had requested an exemption from the financial reporting requirements of the state's campaign "reform" law. The party maintained that to turn over the names of contributors would expose them to harassment by federal and local police agencies.

The PDC ruling in Washington ran counter to the decision of the Minnesota State Ethics Commission to grant the SWP's request for exemption from a similar law in that state. On Sept. 24 the Minnesota commission ruled the SWP would not have to turn over names of contributors because of documented evidence of harassment and surveillance by the FBI and other government agencies.

The party has initiated legal challenges against campaign "reform" laws in several other states. In addition, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has filed suit against the federal disclosure provisions as applied to the SWP.

The Seattle police, subpoenaed to appear before the commission, admitted they had infiltrated and spied on the SWP. They refused to say whether such harassment had stopped.

The FBI, which has admitted that it tries to "disrupt" the SWP, refused to appear or answer any questions, in spite of a commission subpoena.

Harassment admitted

The commission's 3-to-1 vote to reject the socialists' request was in startling contradiction to the PDC's own

finding that SWP supporters are in fact harassed by the government. On the basis of more than 80 exhibits submitted by the party, the commissioners voted to adopt a statement that harassment had been sufficiently proven.

The statement said, in part, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation has questioned employers, co-workers, neighbors, landlords, relatives, roommates, and friends of members of the Socialist Workers Party. Such surveillance has resulted, in many cases, in the discontinuance and/or severance of business and personal relationships."

The statement, called a stipulation of fact, concludes, "It is likely that certain individuals will be dissuaded from making political contributions to the Socialist Workers Campaign if they are informed that a list of their names and addresses will be open to public inspection."

Despite this, the majority of the commission voted to deny the exemption on the grounds that such action would "frustrate the purposes of the law."

During the two-day, seven-hour hearing, 17 witnesses presented evidence and arguments in favor of the socialists' request for an exemption. The exemption was requested under a provision of the state law that provides for suspension of the reporting requirements in cases of "manifestly unreasonable hardship" if an exemption would not "frustrate the purposes of the law."

Opposing the request were Wayne Williams, assistant attorney general of Washington State, and Kenneth Guido, an associate general counsel of Common Cause, the so-called citizens' lobby. Guido flew in from Washington, D. C., to argue against exemption.

ACLU attorney Roger Leed, who represented the socialists, said, "This

commission has granted many exemptions before. It has held scores of hearings and has seldom if ever denied a serious request for an exemption. Also, this is certainly the first time that Common Cause has flown a lawyer in from Washington to oppose a request."

Although the FBI defied the commission subpoena, the Seattle police sent two representatives who agreed to submit to questions.

One of them, Sergeant Archie Porter, had been in charge of the Intelligence Division through early 1972. He admitted that the Seattle police "investigated" the SWP and that the police department used an undercover agent for that purpose.

SWP, Panthers cited

Porter went on to concede that the nominating petitions required to place independent candidates on the ballot were "routinely" forwarded to the Intelligence Division of the Seattle police. Porter mentioned the SWP and the Black Panther Party as examples, while alleging that the practice had been discontinued.

Syd Stapleton, national secretary of the Political Rights Defense Fund, challenged the police testimony.

"Porter is just not telling the truth when he says that the Seattle police just 'investigated' the SWP. . . . In police language, 'investigate' means harass, spy on, and try to disrupt."

The Political Rights Defense Fund is a civil liberties organization building support for a lawsuit by the SWP together with the Young Socialist Alliance against federal government surveillance and disruption.

Common Cause attorney Guido worked closely with the assistant attorney general in cross-examining the witnesses, in spite of the fact that the commission had voted to deny him the right to participate in the hearing ex-



September 1972 shotgun attack on Seattle SWP headquarters occurred only hours after SWP had filed for ballot status.

cept for a closing statement. Guido simply wrote out questions and passed them to the assistant attorney general.

In his statement to the commission, Guido said Common Cause saw no evidence of harassment of people whose names had been disclosed under the law, and that "there is an overriding and compelling interest in requiring disclosure by the SWP."

He argued that even Richard Nixon could claim a hardship from having to disclose names of contributors to his campaign.

Secrecy

Roger Leed, the socialists' attorney, was one of the authors of the state public disclosure law. He asked the commission to order the local police to answer further questions and to take steps to force the FBI to testify. When Assistant Attorney General Williams opposed the request, Leed remarked that Williams was coming down "on the side of secrecy, instead of upholding the disclosure which would help us make our case."

In announcing the socialists' intention to appeal the ruling, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate Clare Fraenzl called for public pressure on Common Cause to reverse its position on the disclosure laws as applied to parties such as the SWP. "Their position is totally inconsistent with support to civil liberties," she stated.

"I predict that the wave of post-Watergate campaign 'reform' laws will end up being used against socialists, trade unions, Blacks, women, and others whose interests lie outside the Democratic and Republican parties," she continued. "Everyone has a stake in the fight against these repressive laws."

Both the commission ruling and the announcement of the socialists' plans to appeal were covered widely by the Washington news media.

Among those supporting the SWP's request for an exemption are: John Rabine, secretary-treasurer, Teamsters Local 763; Dr. Lynne Iglitzin, University of Washington administrator; Dr. Alex Gottfried, professor of political science, University of Washington; Will Knedlick, Democratic candidate for U. S. Congress; and Joan Thomas, an ACLU board member in Washington.

Iglitzin and Gottfried appeared before the commission to urge that the exemption be granted.

Disclosure laws & union militants

Among those who testified before the Washington Public Disclosure Commission on why the Socialist Workers Party should be exempted from turning over names of its contributors to the government was Fred Halstead. Halstead was the 1968 presidential candidate of the SWP and is a member of its national committee.

He began by describing the origins and traditions of the SWP, which go back to the Socialist Party of Eugene V. Debs and the Industrial Workers of the World. Halstead said, "I have been proud to assert myself as a socialist all my conscious life."

"But," he added, "I haven't always asserted it to every employer that I have worked for—because I knew that I might be blacklisted, as I have been on occasion. This is not because socialists engage in sabotage or anything like that, but because they knew that as a socialist I would be a militant unionist, fighting for better job conditions, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, preferential hiring of Blacks and women, and so on."

Halstead told the commission, "All we object to is telling the government the names of everyone who gives us a little money. I was thrown off the ships, out of my trade, in 1949, because of the attorney general's 'subversive list.'

But I have some friends right down on the Seattle docks who are still members of the union and who are still able to go to sea.

"Sometimes during an election campaign I go around and see some of these friends and pick up a few dollars for the campaign. If I have to tell some guy that his name will go on a public list because he gives me a five, then he won't give it to me, because he will lose his job or get in bad with the

clique that runs the union."

"Harassment and discrimination," Halstead concluded, "are obviously directed against 'reds' in our society. Now, I'm proud of being 'red,' my mother was a 'red,' my father was a 'red,' my grandparents were 'reds,' and I've never hidden the fact. But I don't appreciate attempts to force me to hand over a list of everybody with whom I associate to some government agency."



Fred Halstead, SWP 1968 presidential candidate, speaks before Public Disclosure Commission.

Boston racists must be answered

The racist mob violence against school desegregation in Boston has gone virtually unanswered for weeks now.

The bigots have received encouragement from the president of the United States. They have taken heart from the temporizing and vacillations of a liberal mayor and governor. They have seen the judge who ordered the busing plan begin to back away from enforcing it.

With these incentives the racists have pledged to redouble their campaign against the Black community, and they have begun to mobilize support from like-minded bigots around the country.

The emergency situation that was brought to national and international attention by the attempted lynching of Jean-Louis Yvon Oct. 7 has not abated. Harassment and assaults against Black students—for that matter, against any Blacks passing through white neighborhoods—continue, even though they are covered up by the news media.

The fundamental issue at stake in Boston is simple: It is the right of Black children, who have been segregated into the worst schools for so many years, to attend the school of their choice in search of a better education.

In opposing this right, the Boston school committee and city council stand in exactly the same position today as Orval Faubus did when he tried to stop Black youth from entering the white high school in Little Rock, Ark., 17 years ago.

The "antibusing" movement has nothing whatsoever to do with "neighborhood schools" or with what means of transportation gets students to school. It represents the same virulent racism as the night riders of the Ku Klux Klan.

If the racists succeed in overturning the desegregation plan in Boston, they will push to deny the right of Blacks to attend desegregated schools elsewhere in the country. And they won't stop there. They will be emboldened to attack many of the other gains won by the Black liberation struggle in the past 20 years.

A victory for the racist mobs in Boston would also give the capitalist government an excuse to retreat on enforcing other laws against discrimination, and would encourage it to deny further concessions to Blacks.

If the Boston racists succeed in maintaining a system of outright segregation by mob violence, it will strengthen every reactionary tendency in the U. S. and spur assaults not only against Blacks but also against Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, the labor movement, and women's rights.

What is urgently needed is an all-out campaign to defeat this racist offensive. When the civil rights struggle was focused on Little Rock in 1957 or on Selma in 1965, Black people and whites who supported civil rights mobilized throughout the country to demonstrate their support and solidarity. Such a response is necessary today.

The first step is to get out the truth. What is happening in Boston must be explained in the trade unions, in Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, on college and high school campuses, and to the population as a whole.

The Militant has been helping to do this. More than 17,000 copies of the issue headlined "STOP BOSTON LYNCH MOBS!" were sold by *Militant* supporters, including the Young Socialist traveling teams, on street corners, campuses, at workplaces, shopping areas, and in the Black communities across the country. Of these, 3,200 were sold in Boston.

The Militant will continue to publicize the truth and explain the issues of the Boston desegregation fight, and we appeal to our readers to help by stepping up distribution of the paper.

Protest meetings, forums, and teach-ins should be organized on the campuses and in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities.

Resolutions supporting desegregation in Boston and demanding federal troops to enforce it should be introduced in the trade unions. The statements by the Houston Teachers Association, the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees District 1199 in Massachusetts, and the Civil Rights Committee of the Massachusetts State Labor Council are important steps in this direction.

Women's organizations, civil liberties groups, and others should be drawn into protests against Ford's refusal to put down the racist mobs.

The violence in Boston is a serious attempt to reverse the forward momentum of the Black liberation struggle. It must be answered.

Migrants in France

I am involved in a migrant workers' group in France, and I thought readers of *The Militant* might be interested in the situation here.

Migrant workers make up more than 10 percent of the French working population. Most of them come from underdeveloped countries to escape unemployment.

The employers use them against French workers because migrants will accept lower wages and longer hours and will be far less combative than French workers.

Racism against the migrants is fostered by the dominant class. Recently, the oil crisis has emphasized racism against Arab migrants. And last year, countless attacks against Algerian workers killed many of them.

Apart from repressive acts, the government has done nothing to change the situation. The Giscard government appointed a migrant minister and stopped legal immigration to "allow a real progress in the life of migrants already in France." But there is no money to achieve this "real progress."

With almost no rights and no efficient legal protection, migrants will be the first to suffer from the world economic crisis.

A reader

Viroflay, France

Wants more on women

What I don't like about *The Militant* is that you seldom carry any news, outside of union organizing, about the most oppressed majority—women—who are forced to bear unwanted, unneeded children.

At this very moment the Senate subcommittee on constitutional amendments is actively trying to ram through an amendment that would give "rights" to an unborn fertilized ovum—over and above the rights of the woman involved. This action is being funded by the Roman Catholic Church, although it vehemently denies it.

The Sept. 19 issue of *Majority Report* (74 Grove St., New York, N.Y. 10014) is devoted entirely to "Inside Right to Life."

G. G.

New York, N. Y.

Women office workers

It seems to me that women in office work are often exploited. The offices we work in are petty tyrannies where a supervisor wields a power before which we must bow or else leave the position.

In large offices it is frequently seen that employees must "brown-nose" or "butter-up" a boss in order to be promoted. Often more importance is placed on relations with the boss than on the actual work. This seems a bit degrading to me.

Also it seems a common practice to hire a person at a salary equal to that of her last position without regard to what her contemporaries are making at her new company.

Pay raises are not in proportion to cost of living. In fact, pay raises are usually the least amount a company thinks an employee will accept.

M. S.

Houston, Tex.

'Chico & the Man'

I rarely agree with everything movie or television reviewers write, but I must say thanks to Miguel Pendás for the excellent review of *Chico and the Man* in the Oct. 18 *Militant*.

Even the mere name of the show is racist and bigoted. The Anglo actor is the man so Chico can only be less than that.

Loretta Garvin

Atlanta, Ga.

B.J. Field

The speech in tribute to Jim Cannon by Farrell Dobbs in the Oct. 11 issue of *The Militant* contained a small inaccuracy. Dobbs told the story of B.J. Field, who was expelled from the Trotskyist organization, the Communist League of America, in 1934 for his undisciplined role in a strike. Dobbs says that *after* this expulsion Field had some dealings with Leon Trotsky that led to objections from the CLA. And he tells how Trotsky's immediate response was to respect the wishes of the CLA.

Actually Field was expelled twice from the CLA. He was expelled first in 1932, rejoined in 1933, and was expelled again in 1934.

The incident relating to his visit to Trotsky occurred after the first expulsion, not after the second.

C. L.

New York, N. Y.

Reprints in Thai

Militant readers will be pleased to learn that *Suntiparp Press*, a Thai-language newspaper published here, has recently carried the full text of the article by Allen Myers in the April 1970 *Student Mobilizer*, "Scholars join with U. S. Government for purposes of counterinsurgency." (See *The Militant*, April 10 and 17, 1970.) The article is now being printed in a number of newspapers in Thailand, I am told.

The article exposed a U. S. government program to enlist academics to repress insurgent peasants and mountain peoples in Thailand.

It is to be hoped that publication of this material in Thailand will prove to be a big shot in the arm for the movement to remove U. S. military bases from Thailand. U. S. bombers have flown from these bases in carrying out their terror bombing of the Indochinese peoples. In addition, they have without doubt been used against Thailand's peasants and minority peoples.

G. J.

Los Angeles, Calif.

Nixon's pay raise

The thing that angers me most about the "Justice" Department defending Richard Nixon in the Watergate suits is that in the first six weeks after this crook resigned, he went through \$415,000 of our tax money! At that rate, he's earning about 13 times more as ex-president than he made while in the White House.

E. M.

New York, N. Y.



For Harry Ring

In response to one letters page comment in the Oct. 18 *Militant*, I support Harry Ring or anyone else who wants to tell people not to smoke. The nonsmoker has every right to fight back.

Chris Starr
Lawrence, Kans.

Attica

Have the conditions of Attica changed since Sept. 13, 1971?

I'm in solitary because I refuse to conform to the childish hairlength regulations. My only form of entertainment—earphones—has been confiscated.

'Recreation' consists of an hour a day in a 'tiger cage'—a cage identical to those banned after World War II.

Other Brothers are in solitary solely because they refuse to reside in D block—the block where our Brothers were murdered.

Have the conditions of Attica changed?

Attica is all of us. Support the Attica Brothers. Demand the prosecution of Rockefeller. Demand the freedom of the Attica 61.

A prisoner
New York

Daley's dilemma

Three key members of Chicago's Democratic machine were convicted on felony charges on three successive days recently, as the judicial system weakly reflected popular outrage against the crimes and corruption of Mayor Richard Daley's regime.

On Oct. 9, Alderman Thomas Keane was found guilty of mail fraud and of conspiracy to commit mail fraud as part of a conflict-of-interest real estate scheme. Keane was for many years "hizzoner's" floor leader in city council.

The following day, Keane's law partner, Alderman Paul Wigoda, was convicted of income tax evasion for failing to report a \$50,000 payoff he received for guiding a zoning case through city council.

The next day, Oct. 11, Earl Bush, who had for years been Daley's press secretary, was found guilty of 11 counts of mail fraud stemming from his concealment of his ownership of an advertising company for which he used his influence to gain city business. The mayor himself testified in Bush's behalf, but to no avail.

Tom O'Brien
Chicago, Ill.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Black students 'aren't gonna run'

BOSTON—Black State Representative Mel King said something at the Oct. 13 antiracist demonstration here that has stuck in my mind ever since. He described the protest as a chance for the grown-ups "to show our support for our children who have been through so much." Then I stood and listened to 13-year-old Tania Poe, who is being bused to South Boston High School, and I knew what King meant.

Getting up before the crowd, no doubt a little scared inside but speaking in a clear, determined voice, she said: "People don't want us to stay, but we're not gonna run."

She said her cousins came home the first day of school "all bloody," but added, "That must not stop us." She went on to urge all the parents not to be afraid and to send their kids to school. Needless to say, she won the approval and stole the hearts of everyone present.

Her remarks set me to wondering about the kind of effect these racist actions were having upon Black children.

Sure, stacked onto the racism that is in the very fabric of the formal education in the public schools, Black youngsters also get the informal treatment—the stares and funny looks, the hushed remarks, and the message that they are inadequate—from the white teachers, the white students, and the white school personnel and administrators.

By themselves, these subtle though evident manifestations of racism are crippling enough. But compared to the full-fledged, no-holds-barred racist campaign loose in this city—the rock throwing, the taunts and name calling, and the beatings—they're small potatoes.

Sure, King was right. These Black youngsters are

tough. It takes guts to face the beer cans, rocks, and spittle that sail toward the students almost every day. I'm not so sure I could face it day after day and not do something that might land me in jail.

But it was a couple of days later, at the University of Massachusetts teach-in, that I saw Tania again. She was an invited speaker. Afterwards, she described to me the atmosphere and the effect this racist campaign is having upon her and the people she knows.

Her mother just straight out doesn't want her going to school out of fear for her safety. But Tania says, "If we all thought like that, we might as well give up."

Some of her friends think she's an "Oreo or something" because she keeps going to school.

Of the white students, she says that hardly any of them say much to her. Tania does have one white girl friend who "is not prejudiced. But her friends are." These friends will sometimes get after the white girl friend for being friendly with Tania.

"You can tell that some of them [the white students] are talking behind your back too," Tania says.

"One day I went into my English class just trying to be friendly and said, 'what's happening?' to everybody," Tania said. But there was a grouchy white boy in front of her who turned around and grumbled, "What do you mean, 'what's happening?'"

Tania thinks the white parents are the ones to blame for the problems. "They're filling the kids with all those ideas. If they would just stop, everything would be okay."

For some reason that she can't lay her finger on, Tania has a hunch that the racist violence will be over by Christmas. "I don't know why, though," she adds.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Introducing the labor mediator

There are all kinds of labor mediators, and all of them have one purpose—to keep workers on the job and make profits for the boss. Some are freelancers like Theodore Kheel in New York and Sam Kagel on the West Coast who sell their services for as much as \$100,000 to settle a single strike. Most of them—about 260—are employed by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, headed by W. J. Usery Jr.

Labor mediators are not new creatures on the strike front, but their numbers are growing. They achieved prominence in the early days of the New Deal when Roosevelt kept a small string of them around for emergency use. In those days they were mostly part-timers in the mediation business, having other jobs such as preaching or some equally high calling.

The two federal mediators sent by Roosevelt to settle the 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes were Reverend Francis Haas and E. H. Dunnigan, a "Commissioner of Conciliation" from the Labor Department. These two conspired with Minnesota Governor Floyd Olson to declare a "state of emergency" and use the National Guard to break the union.

Farrell Dobbs, as one of the strike leaders, got to know the Haas-Dunnigan team in action. In his book *Teamster Rebellion* (Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N. Y. 10014. Paper, \$2.25) he describes how they recommended an unfair settlement that under the circumstances the union was forced to accept. But when the employers turned it down and charged that the mediators were aiding the union, Dobbs says, "Haas and Dunnigan buckled under the attack, abandoned their original settlement terms, and tried to help the bosses impose harsher conditions on the strikers."

Today, Usery is not smarter than Dunnigan was, but he thinks he is because he has a more successful record. That is because the labor skates Usery has been dealing with are different from the militants Dunnigan was trying to trick.

The *Minneapolis Star* ran a feature article last month by staff writer Randy Furst on the "behind the scenes" role of mediators in labor negotiations. One of those interviewed was Bertram Locke, president

of the Associated Industries of Minneapolis, who says of the mediators:

"If you've got a good, experienced mediator, you have a real asset."

This is confirmed from the opposite standpoint, by Joe Miller, field representative of the United Electrical Workers, who has discovered that mediators are treacherous. "They can mislead. That's what happened to us a couple of times this year," says Miller.

The *Washington Post* recently ran a story on how the mediator operates, based on interviews with the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

Ken Moffett is one of the top men in the Service. He explained that the road to success is through reducing the size of negotiating committees, singling out the "head cow" for special attention, and soft-soaping the top leader on each side. The purpose is to bring a negotiated settlement among a few individuals that can be palmed off by both sides as a "victory." It usually sounds pretty good but turns out in every case to be a deception of the workers. If the union members are allowed to vote, they are told to "vote for victory," without having a chance to read the fine print in the contract.

Mediators are in principle opposed to membership votes on contracts. They contend "a bargain is a bargain," and the official representatives of the union must have the authority to sign away the rights of those they are supposed to represent. Membership votes sometimes destroy all the good work of mediators, and that is bad.

The success secret of the labor mediator is to tell more lies than the others, and not get caught until the bargain is sealed. After that it's the responsibility of those who buy the bargain. The mediator has performed his service.

A book called *Techniques of Mediation in Labor Disputes*, by Walter Maggiolo, is a standard text for all professional mediators, and highly recommended for those who have not yet met any members of this mystical profession.

In case you are ever introduced to one of them, don't be deceived by the false smile—and watch out for the grease in his palm before you shake hands.



Now it makes sense—We recently reported, somewhat critically, that the Boy Scouts had been caught padding their membership figures to boost government grants. We didn't realize at the time that Boy Scouting is intended "to help in the development of American citizens who understand the principles of the American social, economic and governmental system."

Sky Pilots' special—Passenger-hungry airlines are energetically promoting a variety of charter "pilgrimages" for the Holy Year. TWA packages include an audience with the pope.

Clear misunderstanding—An Oct. 18 roundup of readers' reactions to *The Militant* included one that said, "I am tired of being told not to smoke."

The editors captioned it "For Harry Ring," obviously an error since I've never told anyone to stop smoking. However, if the reader is perturbed by being told to stop, the solution is simple: just quit.

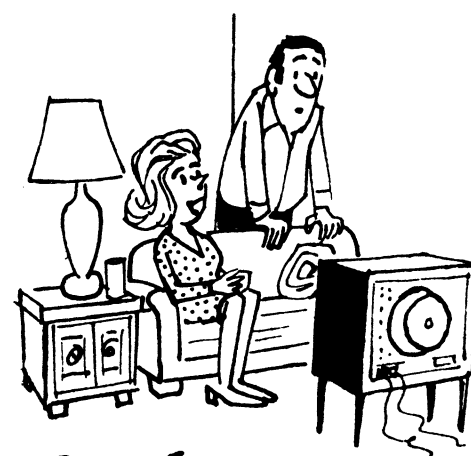
Mr. America—Nixon is reported feeling "very irritated" about Congress cutting him down to \$200,000 moving expenses. But daughter Julie apparently feels things will work out. She recommended the government use his talents by making him a "roving ambassador." Come to think of it, it would really be hard to get a more appropriate representative of American capitalism.

Last chance—The Cunard Line still has one of two penthouse suites for rent for the Queen Elizabeth II round-

the-world trip departing from New York Jan. 10. The suite includes two rooms, two patios, and two private bars (so you really see the world). Cost, \$97,035.

Mr. Jerk they call him—Objecting vehemently but unsuccessfully to a Los Angeles city council resolution to desex city job titles, council member Gilbert Lindsay said that rather than councilperson, he'd prefer to be called jerk. There appeared to be a consensus on the proposal.

Oh—Rejecting allegations that the country is in a recession, Alan Greenspan, economic adviser to the president, said he anticipates "a very dull, possibly negative type of weakness in the economy throughout this year and into the spring of next year."



"That's not 'a terrific satire of a political candidate'—that is a political candidate!"

iLa Raza en Acción!

Los Tres del Barrio

LOS ANGELES—The efforts to reverse the trumped-up conviction of Los Tres del Barrio—Juan Fernández, Alberto Ortiz, and Rodolfo Sanchez—have reached another important juncture.

Los Tres, who have been free on bail for the past year pending the appeal of their case, will be returned to jail when the bail premium expires Nov. 8, unless another premium of \$7,500 can be raised.

As Los Tres attorney Antonio Rodriguez explained to me, the appeal is now in the hands of the U. S. Supreme Court, and the defense is hoping that it will be reviewed in the court's upcoming session.

Los Tres were entrapped into shooting a federal narcotics agent in 1971 and, after an unfair trial, they were given long sentences. Judge Lawrence Lydick prevented the defense from presenting numerous important witnesses. The prosecution made the absurd charge that Los Tres were part of an underground guerrilla band dedicated to the assassination of police, but attempts by the defense to show the contrary were suppressed by the court.

These three men are victims of classic Watergate-style political repression. They were set up by the

government because of their antidrug and other Chicano movement activities. The organization to which they belonged, *La Casa de Carnalismo*, was active in the Chicano Moratorium antiwar demonstrations in 1970.

Their case is part of a pattern of government harassment of the Chicano movement. Agents provocateurs had also been sent in to infiltrate the Chicano Moratorium Committee.

As part of the appeal, the defense is demanding that documents and files on Los Tres and *Casa de Carnalismo* kept by the FBI, the Treasury Department, and the Los Angeles Police Department be turned over to them.

Los Tres won a partial victory last May 13 when a federal appeals court reversed one of the three convictions against them, reducing the sentence of Fernández from 25 to 10 years, and that of Sanchez from 40 to 15 years. Ortiz's sentence remains at 10 years.

The defense committee is asking its supporters to send telegrams to the Supreme Court demanding that the frame-ups be reversed and that the political persecution of Los Tres be stopped. These should be addressed to William O. Douglas, U. S. Supreme

Court, Washington, D. C.

This is an important case for the entire Chicano movement and for the civil liberties of all who are struggling for social change in this country. The suits against government Watergating by Jane Fonda, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, and others have helped bring to light the kind of subversion that the FBI and other government agencies have employed against antiwar, Black, and socialist activists and organizations.

The case of Los Tres offers an opportunity to lift the veil of secrecy that has existed over similar government operations in the Chicano community.

In addition to the \$7,500 premium needed to keep Los Tres out on bail, the defense has to raise additional funds to offset the cost of legal expenses and other defense activities. To do this, several ambitious fund-raising projects have been mounted. *State of Siege* and the Cuban film *Lucia* will be shown. A benefit concert with a program headed by Willie Bobo is set for Nov. 3.

For more information, contact: National Committee to Free Los Tres, P. O. Box 33511, Los Angeles, Calif. 90033. Telephone: (213) 268-9929.



Miguel Pendás

Women In Revolt

Virginia Slims opinion poll-II

The Virginia Slims American Women's Opinion Poll, conducted by the Roper Organization in the spring of 1974, reflects some of the deep changes taking place in the attitudes of both women and men toward basic social institutions and traditions.

One is a majority sentiment expressed in favor of the struggle to improve women's status in society. In addition, the poll reveals that there are substantial numbers—though not yet majorities—who have been affected even more deeply by the radicalization in general and by the ideas of women's liberation in particular.

The concept of marriage is rapidly changing. Although 96 percent of women and 92 percent of men prefer marriage to other living arrangements, only 50 percent of women and 48 percent of men want a "traditional marriage"—that is, a marriage where the husband assumes responsibility for providing for the family, and the wife runs the house and takes care of the children. The rest—46 percent of women and 44 percent of men—prefer a marriage where both the man and the woman work and share the homemaking and child responsibilities.

The groups least interested in the traditional marriage are Black men and women and college graduates.

A 52 percent majority of women want to combine marriage with a career and children.

Divorce was once considered a scandal in this country. Today three out of five women and men believe that if a marriage isn't working out, the solution is divorce. Many people used to stay together in an unhappy marriage "for the sake of the children." Today only 10 percent of the population would do so. And if it's the woman who leaves her family, she deserves no more criticism than a man who does the same thing—so say two out of three women.

What constitutes a "sufficient reason" for divorce? At the top of the list, according to women, is a severe drinking problem on the part of the spouse—54 percent. Following that are being in love with someone else, 52 percent; and no longer being in love with your spouse, 49 percent. Forty-nine percent also believe that sexual infidelity is sufficient reason for divorce; 32 percent say that unsatisfactory sexual relations with your spouse is sufficient reason.

A growing minority, 19 percent, feel that a sufficient reason for divorce is "feeling you have no real identity of your own—that you must be what spouse expects you to be."

It's clear that what women expect of themselves,

their husbands, and their marriages has changed and continues to change.

These changes are reflected also in attitudes toward children. Who gets the children in a divorce, for instance? Equal majorities of women (56 percent) and men (55 percent) think the mother and father should be considered impartially in deciding custody of children.

Although most Black and white women agree that the most important influence on children is "how well their parents raise them," they disagree on some other important influences. White women list "the friends they associate with" in second place, while Black women give "social conditions of the neighborhood they live in" a close second.

One of the biggest differences between white and Black women is in their opinions about how much effect parents can have in determining how children will turn out. Twenty-six percent of Black women answered "a little" or "almost none" compared to 6 percent of white women who feel that way.

When asked to list men who they did "not respect at all," Richard Nixon topped the list for 35 percent of white women and 59 percent of Black women. But that was before Nixon resigned and Ford took over. I doubt that Ford would fare much better if the poll were taken today.



Linda Jenness

'Calm' is deceptive

Racist offensive continues in Boston

By WENDY LYONS

BOSTON, Oct. 22—The surface calm here as Boston enters the sixth week of a court-ordered desegregation plan is deceptive. The past week has seen no major new incidents, and school attendance is up, but fights between Black and white students continue to break out in the highly charged atmosphere.

There have been more than 150 arrests and 130 persons injured since the opening of school on Sept. 12.

Black students bused through South Boston are still treated to signs saying, "Kill niggers," and to obscene gestures by white racists lining the streets. And in racist fashion, the local press continues to play up incidents in which whites are hurt, while de-emphasizing those in which Black students are injured as a result of the constant harassment, provocation, and assaults they are forced to undergo.

Thus, an article about a white student who was given a black eye and a bloody nose at South Boston High School was featured prominently in today's *Boston Globe*, while news of Black students who had to be treated at the hospital for their injuries the same day received only a few lines.

Similarly, the capitalist press has given major coverage to incidents in which Black students were caught with pocketknives, but when three whites were stopped near a school Oct. 18 with seven Molotov cocktails in their car, there was minimal publicity.

The potential for a new racist explosion such as the one that led to a near-lynching Oct. 7 remains.

Nationwide battle

The struggle in Boston is being watched throughout the country by both friends and foes of the Black liberation struggle. On Oct. 19 a racist rally of 1,500 in Hyde Park heard a telegram of support from antibusing leaders in six states. Speakers predicted that Boston would be the first U.S. city to overturn a federal court order for busing.

While the Boston racists see themselves as the vanguard of the nationwide antibusing campaign, they have

BOSTON, Oct. 23—White racists brutally assaulted a Black man here this afternoon. Collie Sebron, 48, was hauled from the truck he was driving through South Boston, and beaten with baseball bats by five white men. Sebron was admitted to Massachusetts General Hospital.

been encouraged and emboldened by the response of federal and local officials. After ordering 450 National Guardsmen into Boston, Governor Francis Sargent has refused to deploy them to enforce desegregation.

President Gerald Ford continues in his refusal to send federal troops to enforce the court order. Moreover, although public pressure at first forced the administration to place part of the 82nd Airborne Division on alert for possible use in Boston, the alert was called off Oct. 18.

Judge Arthur Garrity, who handed down the court order for desegregation and who is still perceived by many people as firm in his position, has also been bending more and more to the racist pressure in recent days. He announced Oct. 21 that he favored a desegregation plan for 1975 that would "minimize busing." In earlier hearings Garrity raised the possibility



Students enter Hyde Park High School as racist epithets are being cleaned off sidewalk.

of exempting predominantly white Charlestown and East Boston high schools from desegregation after racists threatened to blockade the tunnels leading to those neighborhoods.

Position of unions

The racists have been trying to win support from the trade-union bureaucrats and privileged white workers. An antibusing motorcade of 100 cars was organized outside a meeting of Teamsters Local 25 on Oct. 20. Five hundred of the local's 12,500 members were present at the meeting, which adopted a resolution opposing busing.

Earlier, the Massachusetts State Building and Trades Council, representing 7,000 construction workers, had adopted a similar motion.

In sharp contrast to the antibusing position taken by these unions was the statement last week of the Civil Rights Committee of the Massachusetts State Labor Council, AFL-CIO. The statement was released at a news conference Oct. 15 attended by Rexford Weng, chairman of the Civil Rights Committee; Daniel Murray of the United Steelworkers union, who is the executive vice-president of the Labor Council; and Julius Bernstein of the Jewish Labor Committee.

They said: "We want to make it quite plain that organized labor . . . unequivocally supports integrated quality education for all children. At the State Labor Council's convention earlier this month here in Boston, the delegates passed an omnibus civil rights resolution which said the following, ' . . . this convention renews the commitment of the Mass. State Labor Council and the AFL-CIO that we will work to assure quality integrated education for every child in America as a natural and constitutional and moral right. . . .'"

This statement was also endorsed by the United Auto Workers, United

Electrical Workers, and District 65 of the Distributive Workers.

Also supporting desegregation of the Boston schools is the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, District 1199 Mass. Its delegates' assembly unanimously passed a resolution Sept. 18 that noted that "the school committee and other elected officials have been ignoring the quality of education and instead have been stirring up racism and unjustified fear."

Support for the rights of Black students in Boston is also beginning to come from unionists around the country. The Representative Assembly of the Houston Teachers Association, representing more than 9,000 teachers, voted Oct. 22 "that Houston Teachers Association go on record deploring the violence used by white racists in Boston; furthermore HTA urges that federal troops be sent to Boston to protect Black students."

Other actions

In face of the white-racist offensive, supporters of the Black freedom struggle, both Black and white, have been organizing protest actions. Largest of these was the Oct. 13 rally of 1,500 reported on in last week's *Militant*. This rally has been followed by other actions of various types.

On Oct. 19, 600 people, mostly whites, participated in a march to the Boston Commons, where a rally was held in support of desegregation. On Oct. 17, a protest meeting with broad sponsorship took place at Boston State College, whose student body includes many students from neighborhoods where antibusing sentiment is highest.

Also on Oct. 17, 400 students attended a teach-in at the University of Massachusetts, sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee for Human Rights, a coalition of groups formed by a planning meeting sponsored by Ujima (a Black student group), the Puerto Rican Student Union, the Asian Amer-

ican Society, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Twenty-nine Harvard Law School faculty members spoke out this week against President Ford's antibusing statements. They termed the busing order a "necessary remedy for the official violations of the constitutional rights of school children."

The Black Educational Congress, initiated by members of the state legislative Black Caucus, has called for meetings to be held in five schools on Oct. 27 to map out plans to increase the safety of Black students being bused, and to aid Black students facing difficulty in the schools as a result of harassment and missed schoolwork.

Donald Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, told the *Militant* that the situation remained an emergency for the Black freedom struggle. "It is urgent," he said, "that a mass response be mobilized to support the rights of Black students to go to the schools they choose, and to defend them from white racist attacks. With national and international attention being focused on Boston, a united response is necessary to turn back the racists and ensure an outcome favorable to the Black freedom struggle."

School committee vote

Another front on which the battle in Boston is being fought is in the upcoming elections. Supporters of the Black struggle are campaigning for a yes vote on Question 7, which would abolish the racist Boston School Committee. The school committee controls all school funds and policies in Boston, and has been the organizing center for the racist opposition to desegregation.

If Question 7 is approved, control of the schools would be put in the hands of the mayor, with local councils composed of students, parents, and teachers from each community playing an advisory role. The racists are now stepping up their campaign to defeat this proposal in order to retain the present school committee.

In another development related to the school crisis here, Mary Dennison, acting national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, said that her organization would ask Judge Garrity for permission for community-controlled schools. She called on President Ford to declare Boston a disaster area and to issue federal disaster relief funds to "upgrade neighborhood schools and eliminate forced busing." The media has played up Dennison's statement, interpreting it in a way designed to undercut the fight to enforce the desegregation plan here.

State Representative Doris Bunte of the Black Caucus responded to this today in a statement to *The Militant*.

"It is no secret to anybody that we have tried for many years through the school committee to do something about the inequities of the educational system in Boston. We attempted to get community control—real community control. That means control over the money, control over the hiring and firing, and control over curriculum. It was the feeling of the community that since we haven't been able to get that our only recourse was desegregation. This was based on the idea that until the white community has to come to our schools and put up with the conditions there we will never have decent schools."

"Blacks cannot be told to live in our own cubicle where quality education is at stake. The issue is not busing. Busing has nothing to do with it. The issue is an open society minus racism."

Why socialists demand U.S. troops to enforce Boston school desegregation

By DAVE FRANKEL

It is true, as Patrick Clay notes in his letter on this page, that the highest officials of the U.S. government have participated in the racist campaign against busing. Furthermore, they and their government are pledged to uphold the capitalist system, which is responsible for the oppression of Blacks.

As for federal troops, we have seen the work of the U.S. Army everywhere from Vietnam to the ghettos of Detroit and Washington, D.C. Young radicals are much more accustomed to calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops than for their use.

Clay is absolutely right in his distrust of the U.S. government and its troops. But saying all this does not settle the question of whether to raise the demand that the troops be used against the racists in Boston.

To help clarify the problem, let us ask the same question from a broader point of view: Should we ever call on the government to use its power—that is, the Army and police—for any purpose? If this would be wrong under all circumstances, then that would end the discussion right there. But if not, then we would have to go on to ask whether the particular situation in Boston today warrants calling for the use of that power.

In order to settle the question of



School bus at South Boston High School. Revolutionists demand that the government use whatever force is necessary against the racists.

forcement. We are in favor of lynchers being arrested by the police and put in jail. People who discriminate against Blacks or women in employment should be prosecuted. So should killers in Atlanta, Detroit, New York, and other cities.

It would make little sense to hail a legal victory such as the 1954 Supreme Court decision on desegregation, and then refuse to demand that the government enforce the law.

In Boston today the racists are trying to overturn the court decision on busing to bring about desegregation of the schools. All supporters of the Black liberation struggle are in favor of those buses moving. Thus, we support enforcement of this law.

Reliance on government?

Does this mean that revolutionists rely on the capitalist state to back up the democratic rights and social reforms that have been won through the struggles of the working class and oppressed nationalities? No, of course not. We make all types of demands on the government but rely on it for nothing.

Our method is to rely on the power of the masses, and the central thrust of revolutionary activity must always be to organize in the direction of mass action. Demands on the government are a necessary part of mobilizing the masses, but no matter how important such demands are, they remain an adjunct to the basic strategy of mass mobilization.

In Boston today the demand that the government send in its troops to desegregate the schools can be used as the rallying point for the involvement of the broadest possible layers of the Black community and its allies in struggle. This does not preclude other types of demands, but these must flow from the actual level of the struggle and the experience and understanding of the participants.

Assaults by white racists on the Columbia Point housing project, for instance, prompted the formation of Black observation patrols at one point. The development of such Black self-defense organizations may recur, and this would be a positive development. But meanwhile the problem of school desegregation in Boston and the need for federal troops remains.

Origin of slogan

The demand for federal troops to desegregate the schools has been raised by leaders of the Black community in Boston, but this demand didn't originate there. It was raised in the 1950s, for example, when the

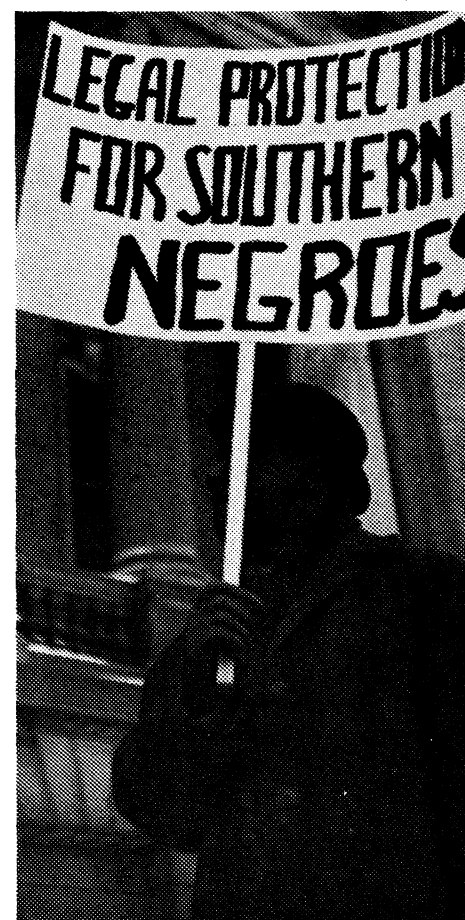
civil rights movement demanded that the government enforce the Fifteenth Amendment.

This amendment gives everyone the right to vote. The Black organizations demanded that the federal government remove the government of Mississippi, that real elections be held in that state, and that federal troops occupy it to protect Blacks.

In 1957 the demand for federal troops was raised again, this time in Little Rock, Ark. U.S. troops, armed with bayonets, stood between the racist mobs and Black school children. The desegregation of the schools in Little Rock was one of the landmarks of the civil rights movement, and a severe blow to the white racists.

In fact, the civil rights movement of the 1950s and early 1960s was built around mass actions demanding that the government enforce its laws. When the mass pressure became great enough, as at Little Rock and later at Selma, Ala., the federal government was forced to intervene. In these cases the government did not attack the Black community; it was trying to placate the mass sentiment mobilized on behalf of that community.

The same dynamic would operate in Boston. The government has always been ready to crush the Black com-



Civil rights movement of the 1960s was built largely around demands that government enforce its own laws.

munity when it rebels against its oppression. But the organization of the Black community in defense of its interests makes such repression more difficult. A mass movement demanding that troops be called up to enforce desegregation of the Boston schools would put the government on the defensive. It would make it more difficult for the government to use these troops against Blacks instead of the white racists.

Whose advantage does the demand for troops serve? This has been answered in the same way by those on both sides of the struggle. The Black community supports the demand, the racists oppose it, President Ford has refused to carry it out, and the liberals have been temporizing. It would help beat back the racists if implemented. And the process of mobilizing the Black community in mass actions to demand federal intervention would in itself help to change the climate in Boston and push back the racists.

The government's unwillingness to send troops to enforce desegregation—in contrast to its readiness to use them against ghetto rebellions—exposes the real nature of the government. Raising the demand for troops helps in this process of exposure. In addition, the demand for troops helps to drive home the idea that the racists should be crushed; they are criminals, and the way to deal with them is with force.

What if. . . ?

There is another aspect to the argument that if troops were sent into Boston they might attack the Black community instead of enforcing desegregation. This type of logic can be used any time something is demanded of the government. But the fact that the government may not carry out our demands doesn't mean that we should not raise them.

Opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, for example, say that ERA might be used to eliminate certain of the protective laws that apply only to women workers, or as an excuse to bring the wages of men down to the level of those for women under the guise of "equality."

The answer, of course, is that women are fighting for the ERA to ensure gains for themselves, not to lose them, and not to undermine the position of men. The same movement that is fighting for the passage of the ERA would also fight against any attempt to misuse it as an excuse for reactionary actions by the ruling class.

There is always the risk that the capitalists will try to transform progressive laws into their opposite. But whether or not any law will be used against the oppressed is determined by the relation of forces in the actual struggle. The existence of an organized movement among women in favor of the ERA makes it more difficult for the rulers to attack women, not less difficult.

Those fighting against capitalist oppression are responsible for what they demand, not for how the government tries to circumvent the content of those demands. The Socialist Workers Party demands that the government send federal troops to Boston to enforce the desegregation of the schools there, and for nothing else. That is a demand that has proved useful in advancing the Black struggle in the past, and that is worth fighting for today.

A reader's question

I really appreciated *The Militant's* coverage of the Boston school fight, but I don't understand why you demand that federal troops be sent there to protect the Black students. If troops were sent to Boston, wouldn't they be used against the Black community as easily as against the racists? It was the National Guard that shot down students at Kent State.

You point out that the racist antibusing campaign has been actively supported by Congress, by Nixon and Ford, and lately by the Supreme Court. I agree. But if this is the case, wouldn't it be better to teach the oppressed to rely on their own power rather than on the government?

Patrick Clay
Chicago, Ill.

principle, we really have to settle our attitude to laws in general. Laws in the United States are passed by Congress and by local legislative bodies; they are enforced by police power and the court system, which are set in motion by the president, mayors, or governors. Together these institutions represent a machine for maintaining class and national oppression.

Yet there are many laws made by this state apparatus that revolutionists support. They include minimum-wage laws, the guarantees of democratic rights in the Constitution, laws against lynching and poll taxes, laws requiring certain safety measures in industry, and proposed laws such as the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

When we support a law we not only support its passage, but also its en-

Boston school struggle

Where sectarians go wrong in opposing demand for troops

On Oct. 11, Socialist Workers Party leader Peter Camejo spoke in Boston at an emergency meeting of the Militant Labor Forum, called to protest the racist violence. At the meeting two representatives of a small sectarian group, the Workers League, attacked the SWP for demanding that federal troops be sent to protect the Black students. They argued that federal troops would be used against both Black and white workers. Instead of calling for federal troops, they said, it was necessary to call for trade-union defense guards.

The following is based on excerpts from Camejo's responses to these sectarians.

You say that bringing federal troops to Boston would necessarily lead to the suppression of both Black and white workers. That's not true. If it were, then you would have to explain what fundamental change has taken place in the United States in the past 20 years.

When federal troops were sent into Little Rock, Ark., in 1957, they did not go in to suppress both Black and white workers. Soldiers with bayonets protected the Black school children from the racist mobs. This demoralized the racists and broke the back of the racist movement.

The Black movement supported that. The Black people had called on the federal government to intervene.

The same thing happened in Selma, Ala., in 1965. After the local police force there was being used to attack civil rights marchers, the Black movement demanded that federal troops be sent in for protection.

Federal troops were sent. They lined the entire roadway, and the demonstration was able to take place. Fifty thousand Blacks demonstrated, right in the capital of the cradle of the Confederacy. This was a terrific blow to racism in the South. And it only came about through terrific pressure.

I was there. I marched. I saw the troops. I was glad they were there. We would camp at night—there were about 2,000 of us in the early part of the demonstration—and the guards would stand all the way around us all night. This enabled the march to continue, and that was a victory.

I'm not saying that the federal government suddenly changed its class character. But under mass pressure, it was forced to bring the troops in.

This helped the movement.

At the same time, we denounced the government for its half-measures—when it withdrew the troops, when it failed to arrest Wallace for breaking the law, when it refused to do everything that was needed to smash the racists.

What would be the result if tomorrow 10,000 federal troops were to enter Boston to protect the Black students on the buses? It wouldn't be a long-term solution to the oppression of Black people, of course. But in this specific fight it would be a tremendous help.

The class struggle is being fought over a specific question: Are those buses going to move? That's the key question right now. Whether those buses with Black students can go into South Boston or not will affect the relationship of forces. It will determine whether Black people make gains or are set back in the fight for their liberation.

If those buses go through, and the racists are prevented from interfering, and those Black students are able to go to those schools, that would be a blow to racism. The demand to bring in federal troops puts the responsibility right where it lies: in Washington. They're placed on the spot, and forced to either produce or not produce.

What do the sectarians propose? They raise the slogan, "No troops to Boston!" This is the same slogan that the racists raise. The racists don't want any troops in Boston either. They don't want the cops around. They want to be able to go out and terrorize Blacks without anybody to stop them.

Instead of federal troops, the sectarians propose that there be trade-union defense guards. But why stop there? Why not call for sending in the Red Army? Wouldn't that be even better?

The call for trade-union defense guards isn't realistic right now. There are no trade unions that even have defense guards, much less any that have offered them to defend the Black students.

Now, if you had said to me that there are a dozen trade-union and Black organizations that have mobilized 10,000 guards, and they are prepared to protect those buses, and someone was counterposing federal troops to that, then your position might make some sense. But you pull this slogan of trade-union defense

guards totally out of the blue. It's not a serious proposal. It has nothing to do with meeting the needs of the Black community today.

You sectarians live in a make-believe world of sloganeering. In your world, trade-union defense guards are counterposed to federal troops. But in the real world, they're not counterposed, because the trade-union defense guards do not exist. The Black community lives in the real world, and it demands real, meaningful solutions, not unrealistic slogans.

Sectarians argue from schematic formulas. They say: 1) the bourgeois state represses the workers; 2) the army and police are part of the bourgeois state; 3) therefore, everything they ever do is against the interests of the workers.

In South Boston, when a lynch mob was going after a Black man from Haiti, his life was saved when a cop came running over to fire his gun. What would you sectarians have proposed in that situation? You would have said, "Hold it, wait, hold it! We can't let the cop interfere. Cops are part of the bourgeois state and we know that they will hit everybody equally." But in that instance the cop didn't hit everybody equally. He didn't hit the Black man.

Any sensible revolutionist in that situation would have called the cop. That's not selling out or sowing illusions. That's just using your head.

The world of the sectarians doesn't include the possibility that a policeman can stop the murder of a Black man. But in our world, the real world, we say it was good that the policeman stopped the lynchers and didn't allow this Black man to get killed. This doesn't mean that the police have changed their fundamental nature. They are still a racist and repressive institution.

What does the sectarian position boil down to? They tell the Black community, "Stop calling for troops to protect your children from racist mobs. Instead, wait for trade-union defense guards." Wait!—that's what their position comes down to. The sectarians are telling the Black community that they should put off their demands for years. They are saying that "It's O.K. if the buses are stopped, if the racists win, just so long as the purity of our slogans is upheld."

That's a completely bankrupt position.

Black youth speak out against racist violence

By BAXTER SMITH

BOSTON, Oct. 21—A calm of sorts settled over Boston this past week, but the city still bristles with tension, awaiting new gusts of white-racist violence. Almost daily, sharp clashes erupt between Black and white students.

The racist campaign here has been carried out with impunity. This has emboldened white students to act as they would never before have considered, and they have kept Black students edgy.

Just this morning a shoving match in South Boston High led to a ruckus involving 30 students that spilled over onto the streets. The cops rushed in looking for culprits. They arrested a Black student.

One morning last week a brawl flared at Hyde Park High. Ten or more students required medical treatment, one for a stab wound. Following the incident, the Elma Lewis School in Roxbury invited Hyde Park students to attend a speak-out there.

Ever since the violence against Black students began with the opening of school, the Elma Lewis School has had its doors open for meetings to discuss the school situation.

Elma Lewis is a Black woman who is well-known and respected among Blacks here. Her privately owned school, nearly 25 years old, is a center for Black culture. Students of all ages can learn drama, music, art, modern dancing, and Black history.

Most of the student meetings have been general rap sessions. One such session last week was attended by about 50 students, mainly from Jeremiah Burke High School in Roxbury and from Hyde Park High.

The Hyde Park students were telling of intimidation they faced from white students. "But I'm not afraid," said one youth in a red jersey. "I don't believe in that turn-the-other-cheek stuff."

Janet Woods, a short young woman with a big Afro, said, "We can't get ourselves into the position where we're starting things first. We just have to be cool. They say that Black people are ignorant and violent. And that is what they want to see us do."

"Now I don't mean you shouldn't, you know, do something if somebody starts something with you. But they're just looking to blame stuff that happens on us."

One of the Hyde Park students, bespectacled and clad in a billowing green dashiki, was complaining that the high school said it might not have enough money for a football team next year. "But you can bet they'll find money for the hockey team. And it's not too many Black people who play hockey, you know," he said with a tone of disgust.

Circulating among the crowd in the auditorium was a petition, initiated by the Burke students, demanding federal troops for the protection of Black students.

Bryant Porter is a student at Hyde Park. He is on the city-wide United Black Students Committee, which has tried to settle some of the desegregation problems by helping to keep things calm.

Asked what he thought if the racists succeeded in turning back the desegregation order, he shook his head and batted back: "That would set us back 20 years."



Famous Selma to Montgomery civil rights march in 1965 would have been stopped by racists if mass pressure hadn't forced government to intervene with federal troops.

Socialist campaign focuses on Boston desegregation struggle

By DAN GREY

BOSTON—"The liberal Democratic and Republican city and state officials are responsible for the breadth and boldness of the racist offensive which threatens Boston's Black community today," charged Socialist Workers Party (SWP) gubernatorial candidate Donald Gurewitz in a special half-hour television show aired here Oct. 18.

The socialist candidate explained: "The compromises and capitulations of Democratic Mayor White, Republican Governor Sargent, and the other liberals have emboldened the racists and helped them win new strength. The tactics of mob violence and intimidation seemed to be meeting with success. Today the bigots feel so strong that they are confident they can actually overturn the court desegregation order.

"The only thing that can possibly stop the racist steamroller is a powerful mobilization of all those who support the right of Black students to attend any school they choose in complete safety. We need a new civil rights movement. The kind of thing we saw in Selma and at 'Ole Miss' in the sixties. We must answer the liberals' pleas to 'be cool' and 'go slow' with a massive movement demanding: 'Stop the violence against Black youth; desegregate the schools now; bring

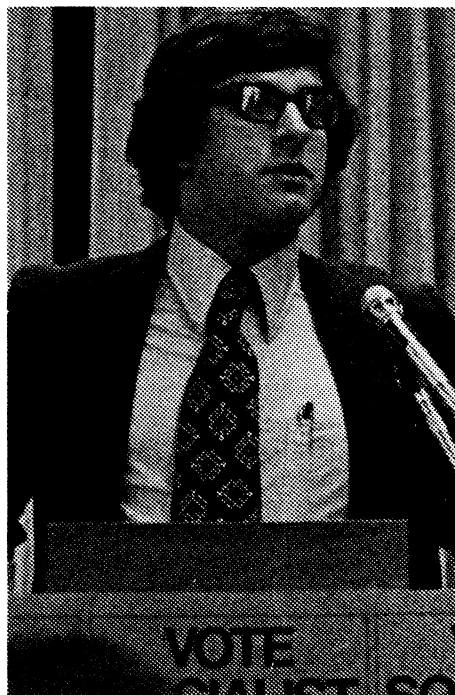
in the federal troops to protect Black students!'"

Gurewitz's insistence on making the desegregation issue the focus of his television appearance stood in marked contrast to the behavior of his Democratic and Republican opponents. Incumbent Governor Francis Sargent and Democratic challenger Michael Dukakis are insisting that the Boston school crisis is not even an issue in the gubernatorial race. They simply refuse to discuss it.

In his remarks Gurewitz lashed out at the two capitalist politicians for their attempt to bury the issue.

"Michael Dukakis's role in the Boston school crisis is a perfect example of the perfidious role of the liberals. He poses as 'the friend of the Black community,' yet he has not said one word against the racist mobs. In fact, his whole campaign strategy is based on winning the racists' votes. He knows that the so-called antibusing movement blames Sargent for not opposing 'forced busing' as strongly as they would like. He knows that they will vote against Sargent and for him if he just keeps his mouth shut. So that's what he's doing.

"If Michael Dukakis wins this election, it will be on the strength of the racist vote. We urge all supporters of the rights of Black students to vote Socialist Workers as a protest against



Militant/Betsy Waldheim
Socialist gubernatorial candidate Donald Gurewitz.

the Democratic and Republican double-talkers and backstabbers."

The theme of opposition to the racist antibusing movement and unconditional defense of the rights of the Black students has been stressed by the SWP candidates in more than four hours of television time and 10 hours of radio time in the past three weeks. Coverage in dozens of articles in the campus press and major media has stressed that the socialists regard beating back the racist offensive as the number-one issue in this election.

The socialist campaigners have launched a special effort to get out the truth about what is happening in the Boston schools and what needs to be done. Campaign supporters are selling thousands of copies of *The Militant* featuring in-depth coverage of the events here.

Hundreds of copies of campaign statements supporting desegregation, denouncing the racist violence, and calling for a mass response have been distributed, as have 20,000 copies of the campaign platform, which highlights the socialist stand in defense of the right of the Black community to use busing to get access to better schools.

The socialist campaign committee is now organizing a special tour of local college and university campuses for Gurewitz and for Ollie Bivins, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor. (For more information on the tour schedule, call the Boston SWP campaign office at 617-482-8050.)

A special emergency meeting on Oct. 11 drew 95 people to hear Bivins, Gurewitz, and Peter Camejo, a co-chairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee, speak out on the upsurge in racist violence that almost led to the lynching of Jean-Louis Yvon.

On Oct. 18 Camejo spoke again. One hundred people attended his presentation on "The History of the Struggle for Civil Rights from Little Rock to Boston." Camejo called for meetings and protests around the country to express solidarity with Boston's embattled Black community.

The socialist offensive in defense of the rights of Black students has brought an unprecedented response to the SWP campaign. In the past three weeks 100 calls have come in to the campaign office from people asking for literature or offering to help. More than 30 letters have come in—a dozen containing money for introductory subscriptions to *The Militant*.

Racists harass Boston socialists

By DAN GREY

BOSTON—As the only candidates speaking out on the side of the Black community, the Socialist Workers Party nominees and their campaign supporters in Boston have become the target of harassment by the racists.

Campaign supporters selling *The Militant* have been subjected to verbal harassment. One salesperson, Judy Uhl, was punched by an enraged bigot on Oct. 14. Phone threats have become frequent.

On Oct. 18 the local press reported that an SWP member was arrested outside a high school. One of the TV networks reported the news nationally. The story, however, was not true. A young man had been arrested leaf-letting outside of English High, but he had no connection with the SWP. The police had created his membership in the SWP out of whole cloth, and later refused to correct the false story.

On the same day as the false news report 100 people gathered at the local SWP campaign headquarters to hear a talk by Peter Camejo, a co-chairman of the Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee. Campaign activists stationed at the downstairs entrance discovered a man with a gun sitting directly in front of the hall in a car with the motor running.

The police were called. The man told them he was only waiting for a friend. He said that he was playing with his gun, and pointing it toward the socialists' office, because his doctor had told him to exercise his two bandaged fingers!

The cops accepted this story without blinking. They took the man away and released him without even bothering to check his story. They have refused to release any further information, even the identity of the man.

In light of the increased harassment and threats directed at the SWP campaign office and campaign activists, gubernatorial candidate Donald Gurewitz addressed an open letter to Boston Mayor Kevin White. The letter demands that a copy of the complete police report on the gun incident be immediately turned over to the SWP, and that vigorous steps be taken to halt the harassment.

In the letter, Gurewitz pointed out that these steps would be routine if a man with a loaded gun were found outside of the Dukakis or Sargent campaign headquarters. The release of the open letter to Mayor White was accompanied by an appeal to the public to write or call the mayor's office and the office of Police Commissioner Robert DiGrazia, demanding that the report be turned over to the socialists and a public explanation be given of the police role in the incident.



Militant/Maceo Dixon

Militant sales have been high in Boston despite harassment by racists.

'Entering Southie-- No niggers allowed'

BOSTON—Lone Black pedestrians and motorists here have often been the target of white racist violence that has spilled over from violent white opposition to the school desegregation order.

Arthur Weeks, a Black member of the Young Socialist Alliance, was a near-victim of racist violence Oct. 9, just two days after a Haitian immigrant nearly lost his life to a lynch mob.

Weeks was on his way to work that morning at Breaver and Healy Company at New Market Square near South Boston, where he works recycling paper. He normally drops into the restaurant on the corner to pick up coffee.

"But as soon as I stepped off the bus and headed toward the café," Weeks said, "the door opened and a few rough-looking types came out. One said, 'Let's get that one,' and ran toward me."

Weeks took off for where he

works, two blocks away, with three of the goons racing behind him, one of them "carrying something in his hand." Weeks made it to work O.K., but the same day a Black friend of his who works with him wasn't as fortunate.

"He was coming through Andrews Square [in South Boston] and a bunch of them jumped him and beat him up. For no reason!"

On one of the streets near where Weeks is employed, thugs have sprayed on the sidewalk, "Entering Southie. No niggers allowed."

"Now," Weeks says, "I know what they mean."

The incident apparently did not daunt Weeks's desire to get the truth out about the situation in Boston. He was the highest *Militant* seller that week, selling 258 copies. Most, he said, he sold to Blacks. "When they saw the headline, 'Stop Boston Lynch Mobs,' they were eager to buy it."



South Boston graffiti

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

NOVEMBER 1, 1974

Mass opposition to internment

Prison revolts spark revival of struggle in Ireland

By Gerry Foley

There was no doubt that the desperate rebellion of the inmates at Long Kesh prison camp on the night of October 15 touched a deep chord among the nationalist-minded people in Northern Ireland.

"Londonderry was virtually halted as cars and buses were hijacked and shops, offices and factories closed their doors," the *London Times* reported in its October 17 issue. "In Belfast, 500 Catholic dockers walked out in protest at what they said was rough treatment of prisoners at Long Kesh, and in Londonderry several hundred factory workers also walked out."

In Belfast, the British army tried to seal up the protesting Catholics in their ghettos.

"During the evening there was more fighting in Belfast when crowds of

Catholics trying to march to the centre of the city to protest were stopped by troops in Castle Street, one of the main shopping thoroughfares [and the border of the Falls Road ghetto]."

form of action.

The revolt that began at Long Kesh October 15 rapidly spread to Magilligan prison, Crumlin Road prison, and Armagh jail.

"Only 24 hours after the destruction of nearly half the Maze prison at Long Kesh," the October 17 *London Times* reported, "and with the governor of Armagh women's prison held captive by a hundred women, republicans last night went on the rampage at Magilligan prison in co Londonderry on the north coast of Ulster, firing at least two of their compounds and burning the prison kitchens."

The British government tried to play down reports about violence by the guards.

"Rumors swept Northern Ireland," the *New York Times* reported October 17, "that prisoners had been killed in pitched battles at the Maze, but a Government statement insisted that only nine prisoners had been injured, none seriously, while a prison guard had a suspected skull frac-

ances from officials that no harm would come to the men in Long Kesh.

The prison revolts touched off an explosion that had been building up for a long time, the report in the October 18 *New York Times* pointed out.

"The outbreaks were the culmination of steady and widespread anger in the Catholic community and among some Protestants over the use of detention without regular trial. The system was introduced three years ago, sparking the bloodiest single day of violence since the start of the current communal conflict."

The dispatch acknowledged the breadth of opposition to internment among the Catholic population:

"Anti-internment feeling stirs the whole northern Catholic community. Last night the Bishop of Derry led a torch-bearing procession of 2,000 in reciting the rosary on behalf of the internees. Moderate Catholic leaders feel that detention gives a major political weapon to an I.R.A. that has otherwise lost much of its support."

"Leaders of the Social Democratic

of the concentration-camp system in what is nominally part of the "democratic" United Kingdom.

The mass upsurge in the Northern Irish ghettos that began at the end of the 1960s was initiated by a fight against the status of second-class citizens to which Catholics are inevitably condemned by a state created specifically to maintain British rule in a part of Ireland and to preserve the pro-imperialist settler caste. This revolt deepened dramatically when the traditional repressive forces, the Orange gangs and the British army, went into action on a large scale.

During the past two years or so, however, the mass struggle has tended to lose its momentum. After a long period of tension, large sections of the oppressed community tended to grow weary of the conflict and were more easily disoriented by promises of concessions by Britain.

The wave of protest against repression that welled up in the Catholic communities October 16 and 17, however, shows that conditions have been ripening for a revival of the mass struggle of the oppressed Northern Catholics and of the historic Irish majority.

Whatever the precise origins or initial issues in the prison rebellions—which are still to be clarified—it is obvious that the response they stirred in the Catholic community, while linked to concrete grievances, reflected a deep-seated feeling that goes beyond the specific question of prison conditions or the specific forms of imperialist repression. The power of this response is not only a major blow to the British "normalization" in Northern Ireland; it is also likely to shake up the logjam of frozen conceptions that has held back the struggle of the oppressed community for many months.

In the first place, the flareup has impressed on public opinion in the British Isles and in the world that the crisis in Northern Ireland has not been resolved and may be headed toward a new and more powerful explosion. It also focused attention on the concentration-camp system London has had to maintain in order to repress opposition to its imperialist system among the nationalist population.

Thus, it is important to use the momentum of the protests on October 16 and 17 to build up a campaign against the whole political repression, focusing on internment, which is still the most powerful issue.

It is to be hoped that in the wake of the prison rebellions there will be new and broader initiatives for a campaign focused clearly and uncompromisingly against the repression in the six-county British enclave and in the neocolonialist twenty-six-county state.



Repression has been most explosive political issue in Ireland for decades

In a number of places, the *London Times* account indicated, the protests were spearheaded by militant strikes. In Derry (called "Londonderry" by the British imperialists in honor of the English conquest), the Catholic workers, the majority of whom tend to be women employed in small, super-exploitative plants, have played a key role in previous protests against British repression. The prison revolts apparently brought them out again. And, the October 17 *London Times* report continued, "... at Coalisland, in co Tyrone, Catholic factory workers formed a human chain across several main roads and blocked traffic."

This pattern has been seen before in the mass protests touched off in February 1972 after British troops shot down thirteen civil rights demonstrators. At that time, strikes by workers of the oppressed Irish nationality tended quickly to become the dominant

ture."

The discrepancies between the government's claims and the first detailed reports by prison officials gave fresh force to the feeling of outrage in the Catholic community.

"There was much controversy yesterday about government figures of those injured in the Long Kesh riots," Robert Fisk wrote from Belfast in the October 18 *London Times*. "On Wednesday night Mr Rees [the British overlord of Northern Ireland] had said that nine prisoners had been detained in hospital; yesterday the Government confirmed that 29 had actually been taken to hospital, nine of whom had been detained."

In the first days after the revolts, there was little information about the situation in Magilligan prison and Crumlin Road prison. In Armagh jail, the women prisoners ended their protest, reportedly, when they got assur-

and Labor party . . . who have collaborated closely with the British on many matters, called emphatically today for the end of internment."

The fact is that repression has been the most powerful political issue in Ireland for at least a century. The usual effects of imperialist domination—massive unemployment; hunger; and the maintenance of such forms of exploitation as serfdom—have been eliminated or attenuated in Ireland by emigration en masse to the imperialist centers. The long history of British domination and geography account for that.

However, to maintain its domination of Ireland, all the more important because of the closeness of the country to the imperialist center, British imperialism has had to build up a complex apparatus of special repressive institutions on the neighboring island. The most glaring example is the use

Frelimo and the new regime in Mozambique: which

By Tony Thomas

On September 7 the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) and the Portuguese government concluded an agreement to establish an independent Mozambique. This came about after years of struggle by the African masses of Mozambique, along with the people of Guinea-Bissau and Angola, against Portuguese colonialism.

The struggles in the African colonies led to a mass upheaval in Portugal early this year and forced Lisbon to come to terms with African freedom-fighters in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

Lisbon had earlier proposed that Frelimo be only one of the parties representing the Mozambican people in a "postcolonial" government. The Portuguese administration had tried to prop up pro-Portuguese groups based on white settlers and African middle-class elements for such a role.

However, these attempts failed as mass strikes, demonstrations, and rebellions during the summer forced Portugal to come to terms with Frelimo.

This agreement registered an advance for the Mozambican people. However, it also contains big dangers, especially in the provision for the establishment of a "transitional" regime until full independence would be granted on June 25, 1975.

The Portuguese colonialists will retain considerable power under this regime, which was inaugurated September 20. Key posts, such as foreign affairs and defense, remain in the hands of the Portuguese home government.

Heading the "transitional" regime are Portuguese Admiral Victor Crespo as Portuguese high commissioner, and Joaquim Chissano, a Frelimo leader, as premier. Frelimo named ministers of internal administration, information, justice, economics, and education, while the Portuguese commissioner named ministers of health, communications, and public works.

Until the "government of transition" sets up a new police force, the present police will continue to function. The Portuguese high commissioner is empowered to take command of the police and other security forces "in the event of disorder."

This leaves the Portuguese with a large amount of control over what will take place under this regime. This control could aid them in setting back the national liberation struggle.

National defense

The fact that military and police power remain largely under Portuguese control is very important, since the South African settler-colonialist regime has already made a number of threats to attack Mozambique if Frelimo aids the South African freedom-fighters. In addition, there have been rumors of attempts to recruit mercenary forces in South Africa and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) to fight for a Rhodesian-style white-settler regime in Mozambique.

The dangers posed by the accords on this question were shown in the first week of September, when whites in Lourenço Marques, capital of Mozambique, revolted in an attempt to block the "transitional regime." Frelimo offered to send its troops to help the Portuguese army put down the white rebels.

Portuguese Prime Minister Vasco dos Santos Gonçalves rejected Fre-



Blacks in Lourenço Marques celebrate accords promising independence. Flag is Frelimo's.

limo's offer. Portuguese troops and police did little or nothing to put down the revolt as the white colonists took over the city for several days.

Meanwhile a massive revolt flared up in the city's Black shantytown. Blacks built barricades, searching for arms destined for the white rebels. They blocked roads from South Africa to prevent aid coming from that country.

It was at this point that the Portuguese army moved in—not to put down the white putschists, who surrendered in the wake of the Black revolt, but to put down the city's Black community. In fighting that ensued, the official Portuguese figures were 100 dead and 250 wounded. Only twelve of the dead were Portuguese.

This illustrates how the Portuguese government will use the new accords to hold back the struggles of the Mozambican masses and prevent Frelimo from defending them.

The Portuguese will be able to use this type of "joint" control over the police and military to put pressure on the Frelimo regime, or to try to overthrow it if that becomes necessary from the Portuguese standpoint. The interim period before the promised independence will also allow the Portuguese time to build up a more controllable alternative to Frelimo if they desire.

Other dangers

Other dangers flow from the political stance taken by the leaders of Frelimo.

On September 20 when the new government was inaugurated in Lourenço Marques, Samora Machel, leader of Frelimo, sent a message to the ceremonies. Machel, who remains in Tanzania where Frelimo maintains its headquarters, is expected to become president of Mozambique after June 25. His speech was seen as an outline of policies that Frelimo would follow under the "transitional regime" and after.

This was an opportunity to call for the continuation of the strike struggles, occupations, and demonstrations that forced Lisbon to make as many

concessions as it has.

It is this type of mass mobilization that is necessary to win real improvements in the lives of the Black majority. Without a continuation of the social struggles of the working masses, Mozambique will be trading colonial status for semicolonial status. The exploitative economic and social structures left by colonialism and imperialism will remain intact.

Instead, Machel called for the limitation of economic struggles and democratic rights in Mozambique and called on the masses to shoulder the burden of the current economic crisis brought on by imperialist exploitation.

Machel called for an end to the wave of labor struggles that has shaken Mozambique since the April coup in Portugal. Strikes by sugar workers, dockers, construction workers, public employees, and others had developed in response to economic difficulties and Frelimo victories.

The September 21 *Diário de Lisboa*, a liberal Lisbon daily, reported that

Machel made it clear there was no room for labor struggles in Mozambique. He stressed "that an increase in salaries would only bring an increase in prices." Machel also said, "In this situation and phase of the life of our country, strikes will not take place."

Machel called for an intensification of production and for "stepping up austerity and very hard work" to solve the country's economic problems, which include massive inflation, unemployment, and a major balance of payments deficit.

Machel's proposals are in the interests of the Portuguese and other capitalists, not in the interests of the Mozambican working masses. They aim to solve the capitalists' problems by attacking the standard of living of the working masses.

The solution to these problems from the point of view of the interests of the masses would be to nationalize all the large capitalist holdings and launch a planned economy based on the development of the country in the

Timor demands independence

[The following information is from the October 11 issue of *Socialist Action*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the New Zealand Socialist Action League.]

Timor is a colony of Portugal located on one half of an island to the east of Java and 400 miles from Darwin, Australia. Its main produce is coffee for the European market, and it has been under Portuguese rule for the last 500 years.

Ninety percent of the 625,000 population are illiterate; most people live by subsistence farming, earning only \$40 a year; and tuberculosis and infant mortality rates are among the highest in the world.

Portugal has left a legacy of cultural imperialism too: the majority of the population understand Tetum, the main tribal language, and

only 20 percent speak Portuguese. Yet Tetum has not been made into a written language and is not taught in schools.

Recently the governments of Portugal and Indonesia have agreed to hold talks on the future of the tiny colony. There is a danger that self-determination for the people of Timor will be thwarted by a deal between Lisbon and Djakarta, which is interested in taking over the territory and annexing it to Indonesia.

The recently formed Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) organized a demonstration of 5,000 on September 20. It is demanding recognition as the only legitimate representative of the Timorese people in negotiations with Portugal for immediate independence. FRETILIN is also opposed to any interference in the territory by Indonesia.

way forward?

interests of the workers and poor farmers and not for the profits of imperialism.

The desire of the Mozambican masses to go beyond the limitations imposed by the private-property system has been demonstrated in the ten-year struggle against Portuguese colonialism and in the strike waves and community uprisings in August and September. During those rebellions, Blacks seized goods in Portuguese stores, demanding retribution for centuries of exploitation.

One-party state

In order to defend the victory registered in the September accords and to complete the national liberation struggle through social revolution, there is a necessity for complete political freedom for all tendencies based on the workers and poor peasants that defend the struggle against Portuguese colonialism and imperialism.

However, Machel also announced in his message that Mozambique would become a one-party state and that the government would be subordinate to Frelimo. He announced that committees of Frelimo would be established in each factory, government department, farm, and shop.

In an earlier statement, Machel declared that in a Frelimo-led Mozambique all elections "must be organized so that the choice of the masses falls on persons who have adopted the party line in thought and behavior. . . ."

Apparently included in the category of persons who have not "adopted the party line in thought and behavior" would be not only procolonialist groupings—which the liberation forces have a right to bar from political activity—but also workers and peasants who want to continue the strike struggles and other actions against capitalist exploitation that have flared up in recent months.

South Africa and Rhodesia

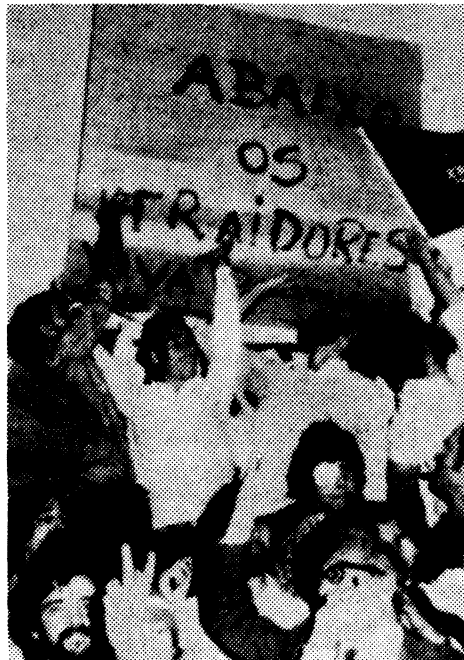
Another ominous sign about the perspectives of the Frelimo regime are several ambiguous statements in regard to the liberation struggles in South Africa and Rhodesia. Both of these countries are white-colonialist settler-states where the African majorities are faced with sharp economic exploitation and almost no political or trade-union rights.

During its guerrilla struggle against Portugal, Frelimo cooperated with rebels fighting to overturn these regimes. Frelimo's aid to freedom-fighters in Rhodesia is credited with helping them make important advances during the past year.

Portuguese Foreign Minister Mário Soares stated after the September 7 accords were signed that no aid from Mozambique would be given to the Rhodesian fighters during the "transitional regime." If this reflects Frelimo policy, then the struggle in Rhodesia would be seriously set back.

On September 17, "transitional" Frelimo Premier Joaquim Chissano held a news conference in which he discussed Frelimo's attitude toward the two racist regimes. Chissano said, "We do not pretend to be the saviors of the world. We will not be saviors or the reformers of South Africa. That belongs to the people of South Africa."

This statement, and the fact that Mozambique has not cut off economic ties essential to the survival of both South Africa and Rhodesia, suggest



White putschists. Portuguese troops treated them with kid gloves, while turning their guns on Black shantytown dwellers.

that Frelimo may be moderating its position in order to avoid a confrontation with South Africa.

The defense of Mozambique against South Africa, Rhodesia, and white-settler attacks demands the full mobilization of its people and resources in support of the national liberation movements in these countries. Above all, it requires that no reliance be placed on the Portuguese armed forces and government, who have already shown what course they will follow during the white-settler revolt in Lourenço Marques.

Frelimo's leaders should remember how rhetoric about "noninterference in other countries' affairs," was used by independent African governments to justify lack of support to Frelimo.

Only victories in the struggle against colonialism in Rhodesia and South Africa can make Mozambique's independence secure.

Socialist revolution

To determine their own destiny, the Mozambique masses need to take economic and political power out of the hands of the Portuguese imperialists by turning the national and class struggle in Mozambique into a socialist revolution. The farms, the mines, the factories of Mozambique must be placed in the hands of the workers and poor farmers. A government based on the working masses, aiming at defending their class interests, must be constructed.

The masses of Mozambique can learn from the experience of other African countries that have won political independence but have maintained capitalism. In such countries political independence has not qualitatively improved the lives of the working masses or brought independence from imperialist domination.

This is equally true for the so-called progressive states such as Tanzania or Congo (Brazzaville), where a few nationalizations and radical rhetoric mask continued capitalist exploitation.

Only in Cuba, China, North Vietnam, and other countries where anti-imperialist struggles were climaxed by socialist revolution have real social development and national independence from imperialism been achieved by colonial and semicolonial countries.

To carry this struggle forward, Mozambique needs a revolutionary socialist party that bases itself on the needs and struggles of the masses.

World news notes

Witch-hunt against Basque militants

Spanish police have mounted a witch-hunt against Basque militants in the wake of the September 13 bombing of a Madrid café. Eleven were killed and more than seventy wounded in the explosion.

The police have tried to blame both the Communist party and the Basque nationalist group ETA-V for the blast, even though the wide political differences between these two groups are well known. Eight persons have been arrested and charged both with complicity in the bombing and with membership in the Communist party, which is illegal.

Among those arrested are prominent intellectuals, a leader of the Spanish women's liberation movement, and an alleged member of the Workers Commissions (illegal unions).

The Communist party's general secretary, Santiago Carrillo, has denied CP involvement in the bombing, declaring "unequivocally" the party's "disagreement with terrorism."

20,000 political prisoners in India

A report issued by Amnesty International September 17 states that 15,000 to 20,000 political prisoners have been detained without trial in West Bengal, India, since 1971. Most are alleged supporters of the Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist), commonly known as the Naxalites. Some have been kept in chains for periods of up to two years. The report also charges acts of torture by warders and police.

The Gandhi government has refused to respond to several inquiries made by Amnesty International. It reacted sharply to the report, calling it "totally baseless" and charging that its figures are inflated.

Even the *Times of India* felt compelled to criticize the government for not cooperating with a group like Amnesty International. In an editorial September 18 the *Times* said the government had a duty to explain why it is keeping a large number of young people in jail without trial.

Japanese protest U.S. nuclear weapons

A retired U.S. rear admiral, Gene Robert LaRocque, testified before a congressional subcommittee September 10 that U.S. warships have been carrying nuclear weapons into Japanese ports.

This disclosure, widely publicized in the Japanese press, sparked a wave of public protest. Demands have been raised for surveys of U.S. bases in Japan to check for nuclear weapons and for prohibition of the docking of any U.S. warships capable of carrying nuclear weapons.

According to the October 13 *Washington Post*, three opposition parties, major trade unions, and other organizations have called for mass demonstrations against the U.S. policy on October 21, the international antiwar day.



Protests have also hit dangers of Japanese nuclear-powered ships. Above, fishermen blockade nuclear ship, the Mutsu.

Raid on N.Z. abortion clinic

The controversy over New Zealand's restrictive abortion laws came to a head recently with attacks on the country's first private abortion clinic, in Auckland.

On August 30 a bill seeking to restrict performance of abortions to public hospitals was introduced into parliament. Then on September 16 the police raided the Auckland clinic, seizing its files on 500 women patients. Unlike most private hospitals, the Auckland clinic was operating on a nonprofit basis, providing abortions for only \$80. As a result it was flooded with requests and was operating at full capacity.

The restrictive bill was introduced by a member of parliament who is a member of the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC).

The widespread opposition to the restrictive measure was indicated at a public protest meeting of 500 in Wellington on September 6. Organizations representing the medical profession, social workers, nurses, students, and others protested the raid on the Auckland clinic. A demonstration of 300 was held outside the Auckland police headquarters, and a march of 500 took place in Christchurch on September 20.

Park demands repression of Korean exiles in Japan

By Peter Green

Seoul and Tokyo have worked out a deal at the expense of South Korean exiles in Japan. After weeks of anti-Japanese demonstrations in South Korea and speculation that President Park Chung Hee might break diplomatic relations with Japan, Japanese special envoy Etsusaburo Shiina flew to Seoul September 19. He brought expressions of regret over the August 15 attempted assassination of Park by a Korean resident of Japan. Park's wife was killed in the shooting.

Park considered the written apology from Japanese Premier Kakuei Tanaka insufficient, so Shiina supplemented it with an oral statement. He also visited Park's wife's grave to pay his respects.

Park finally accepted the effusive apologies—but not without receiving something more substantial than mere words.

Park had accused North Korea of masterminding the assassination attempt and blamed Tokyo for allowing it to take place. The would-be assassin, Mun Se Kwang, had entered South Korea on a false Japanese passport, with a gun stolen from a Japanese police station.

But these weren't the real points at issue.

What really enraged Park was the fact that Tokyo has not been able to

suppress the activities of the influential General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, the Chosen Soren. The majority of the 625,000 Koreans living in Japan are opposed to Park's regime, and many are sympathetic to North Korea. Park has repeatedly pressed Tokyo to crack down on them. Mun was a member of a youth league associated with Chosen Soren.

Park presented five demands to the Japanese Embassy in an official note delivered September 2 by Foreign Minister Kim Dong Jo. The key demand, according to a report in the September 3 issue of the Tokyo *Daily Yomiuri*, was for Japan to bring under control the "criminal" and "subversive" activities of Chosen Soren and other anti-Park organizations in Japan.

Park also demanded an official apology for the assassination attempt; the extradition to Seoul of three alleged accomplices of the assassin; full cooperation in investigating the "plot"; and correction of alleged prejudiced and unfair reports unfavorable to South Korea's national interest in the Japanese press.

To back up these demands, daily demonstrations were held outside the Japanese Embassy in Seoul. Thousands of demonstrators tried to storm the embassy, and on September 6 about 200 succeeded in breaking in. They tore down the Japanese flag on top of the five-story building, ransacked offices, set an embassy car afire, and shattered all the windows on the first floor.

One of the men who tore down the flag tried to commit hara-kiri. At a demonstration September 9, thirty-two demonstrators cut off their little fingers with kitchen knives.

Demonstrations were also held in other South Korean cities. Korean police claimed that more than 700,000 had demonstrated in Seoul alone.

It soon became apparent to everyone that the demonstrations were not spontaneous affairs but had been carefully organized by the Park regime.

"According to the police," the September 13 *New York Times* reported, "the demonstrations are planned a day or two ahead and the script worked out between the demonstrators and the police protecting the embassy. Television coverage is coordinated, so that the cameras can get the best shot of the action."

The Tokyo daily *Yomiuri Shimbun* reported September 14 that demonstrators had been recruited by the government, with fines of 500 won (US\$1.25) levied on those who refused to go. As one Korean living in Japan told a New Asia News correspondent, "South Korean people don't have the freedom *not* to go to demonstrations."

Undoubtedly there is much genuine resentment of Japan. The memory of



Do you remember the news reports about how the anti-Japanese, pro-Park demonstrators in South Korea were supposedly so dedicated that many cut off a finger in protest? Well, the Oct. 14 *Newsweek* reported that all those who cut off their fingers were actually convicts, who were paid \$125 to \$375 per finger by the Park dictatorship.

more than three decades of direct colonial rule by Japan from 1910 to 1945 has not been erased, and Japanese imperialism today has control over a sizable chunk of the Korean economy. But the demonstrations were orchestrated by Park for different reasons, and the limits were strictly set. The September 23 *New York Times*, for example, reported that students were not permitted to join the demonstrations "because of fear that they would turn against the Government."

The background of Japanese special envoy Shiina shows that Park has no basic conflict with Japanese imperial-

ism. "As Assistant Secretary in the War Ministry," New Asia News reported, "Shiina helped draft the plan to conscript more than one million Koreans to work in Japanese industry during World War II."

Park would have faced many problems if he had carried through his threatened diplomatic break with Japan. The September 15 *New York Times* reported that between 1965 and the end of 1973, Japan provided 26 percent of all the foreign funds going into South Korea, second only to the United States' 37.8 percent.

Washington was concerned at the falling out of its two Asian allies and apparently played a part in working out the final deal. U.S. diplomats had a number of secret meetings with representatives of the South Korean government. In addition, State Department officials reported September 3 that President Ford was sending a letter to Park, urging him to use "self-restraint" in his treatment of dissidents and expressing concern over the deterioration of relations between Japan and South Korea.

The September 15 *New York Times* reported that the White House also pressured Park with threats of economic reprisals and possible troop withdrawals. U.S. officials pointed out, according to the *Times*, that Seoul's position in the coming United Nations debate on the UN Command in South Korea was "already difficult and that the absence of Japanese support would do major damage."

The agreement reached between Seoul and Tokyo has been touted as a "compromise," but the result is likely to be something fully desired by both governments—an attempt to suppress the political activities of Koreans in Japan.

The Japanese statement delivered to Park apologized for the fact that the assassination attempt was prepared in Japan and promised to make "every effort" to prevent its happening again. It also pledged to crack down on "criminal acts aiming at the overthrow of the government of the Republic of Korea." Such pledges can only be implemented by following Park's lead and stepping up repression of Koreans living in Japan.



A GI in Korea. 38,000 remain there.

Chile junta murders Miguel Enriquez

Miguel Enriquez, the 30-year-old leader of the Chilean MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left), was reported killed in Santiago October 5.

According to an October 5 Reuters news dispatch, "An official statement said that the body of Mr. Enriquez... was found when troops and policemen burst into a house in the San Miguel district after overcoming fierce resistance from automatic weapons."

"A woman with Mr. Enriquez, Carmen Castillo Echeverría, was wounded and taken to a city hospital."

Enriquez, a founding member of the MIR, was a physician by profession

and the son of the former minister of education. Prior to the formation of the MIR in 1965, he played a leading role in the Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Concepción (Student Federation of the University of Concepción).

Following the September 1973 military coup in Chile, he was named most-wanted man by the ruling junta.

Enriquez explained his political line in an August 16 interview reprinted in the first issue of the MIR's news service for the foreign press:

"We revolutionists must accelerate the pace of initiating actions of armed propaganda, which can strengthen the resistance struggle."

Despite the difficult conditions imposed by the military coup, Enriquez remained in Chile. As he wrote in a July 1974 open letter to the editor of the daily *El Mercurio*:

"The revolutionists of the MIR—militants and leaders—remain in our country with the Chilean workers despite the partial setbacks we have suffered and already overcome. We are organizing and preparing the struggle that the Resistencia Popular [People's Resistance] has already begun, a struggle that will inevitably end in overthrowing and punishing the gorilla dictatorship and its paid lackeys, who are repressing and superexploiting our working class and people today."

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Behind coal miners' contract negotiations

By FRANK LOVELL

The uncertainty and speculation about a possible strike in the coal industry arise from the peculiarities of the industry and the recent history of the United Mine Workers (UMW).

In most other basic industries patterns in union-management negotiations have been established during the past quarter century. Management in the auto industry is in continual negotiations with United Auto Workers officials, and each side understands the needs of the other. The signing of a new national contract every three years has, since 1955, produced no surprises.

Steel negotiations are more clearly dominated by industrial management. The industry treats the steelworkers union more like a junior partner.

In the electrical industry, General Electric split up the workers into 13 different unions. It negotiated separately with each union, plant by plant. The pattern of those negotiations was a "first and final offer" by the company. This pattern was broken in the 14-week-long 1969-70 strike, conducted by the Coordinated Negotiating Committee of all the unions involved.

There was also an established pattern of negotiations in the coal industry when John L. Lewis was president of the UMW. After consultation with the major coal producers, he used to draft demands that in his opinion met the needs of both union and management. He would then present these in the form of a speech to the assembled mine operators, scolding the industry for its callous disregard for the welfare of miners.

This method suited the personality of Lewis and satisfied the long-range needs of the coal industry. It broke

down in the late 1950s as Lewis stepped down as president and the oil monopoly took control of the now mechanized coal industry.

Under the Tony Boyle dictatorship in the UMW, the pattern of wage negotiations was reversed. The mine operators set wage scales and imposed murderous work conditions.

In most industries, neither union nor company representatives have been anxious to enlist the services of government mediators to grease the path of contract negotiations. They have preferred to conduct negotiations among themselves, behind closed doors, with no hint to the union membership of what the final terms will be until an agreement has been reached.

This requires an established and comfortable working relationship, an experienced "team" on both sides, able to bring to the union membership a "consent decree" in the form of a new union contract.

Test of strength

This relationship is lacking in the coal industry today. A process of testing is going on, with neither side sure of the strength and weakness of the other.

In some respects the union leadership does not know its own strength. But if it succeeds in mobilizing the power of the miners and the support of their allies, it could shatter the old cozy union-management patterns, to the benefit of the miners and all other workers.

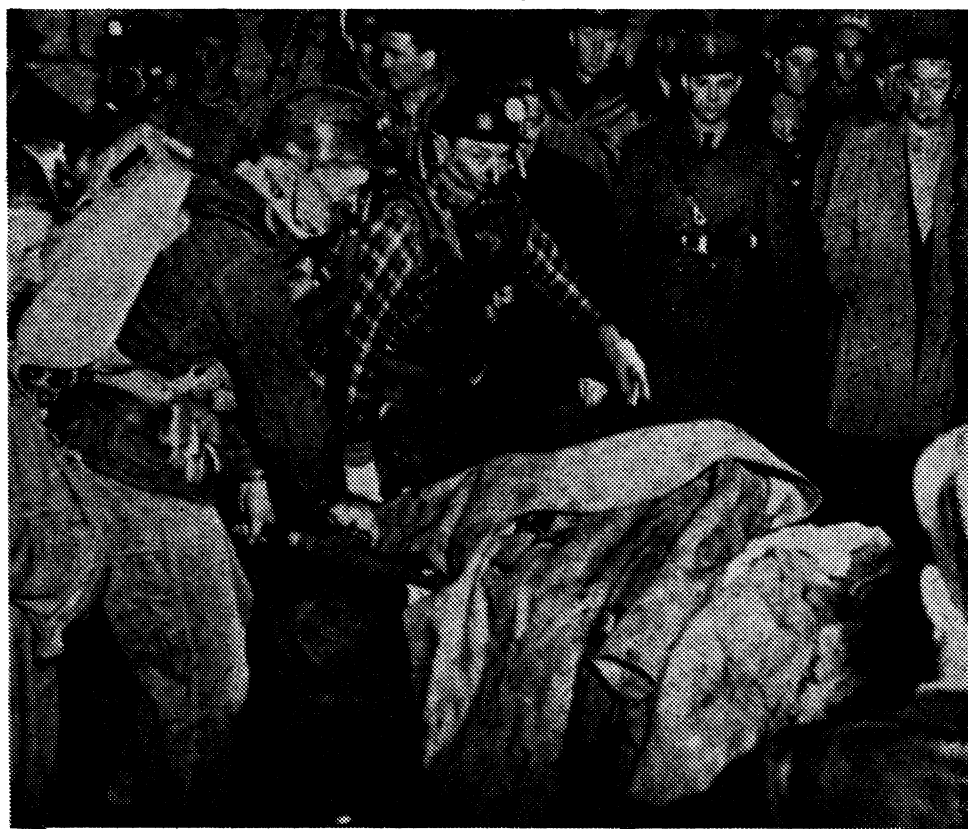
The UMW officials have tried to copy the techniques developed by Walter Reuther and his successors in the auto union. They held a series of district conferences to draft contract demands. They came into negotiations with a long list of grievances. They agreed to "closed door" negotiations at the outset. This, in all formal respects, is reminiscent of auto negotiations since 1948. But there are some essential differences.

The men who stand at the head of the UMW are coal miners not long out of the pits. They have not yet been trained to understand the "mutual interests of labor and capital," and they know from lifelong experience the danger and poverty of digging coal.

This makes them different from all other "top negotiators" of unions in major industries.

The UMW has prepared the membership for the negotiations and a possible strike in a manner more like the early days of the CIO than recent times.

The UMW Journal has run frequent



Deadly mine conditions are central issue in contract talks

articles on contract issues; the union has stepped up its organizing drives; and in August a week-long work stoppage was called.

Where gov't stands

The coal negotiations occur in the midst of President Ford's campaign to "fight inflation," and the government has paid very close attention to the progress of the talks. Ford is out to hold wages to a minimum, raise productivity by lifting "environmental restraints" and safety regulations, and ease the energy crisis by approving price hikes for the coal industry "to encourage expansion."

With this in mind, Miller told government officials at one of the economic "mini-summits" in September that "flag-waving appeals" to the UMW will not influence the miners. He warned the coal bosses that the first matter to be resolved in negotiations is how to protect the lives of miners by recognizing union control of safety regulations.

The coal companies are determined to continue their present mode of operation if they can get away with it. In their view, according to the Oct. 5 *Business Week*, the talks temporarily took on a "brighter outlook . . . partly a result of President Ford's designation of Miller as a member of the new Labor-Management Committee, obviously an effort to defuse coal bargaining by drawing Miller into the inner circles."

But then Miller walked out of ne-

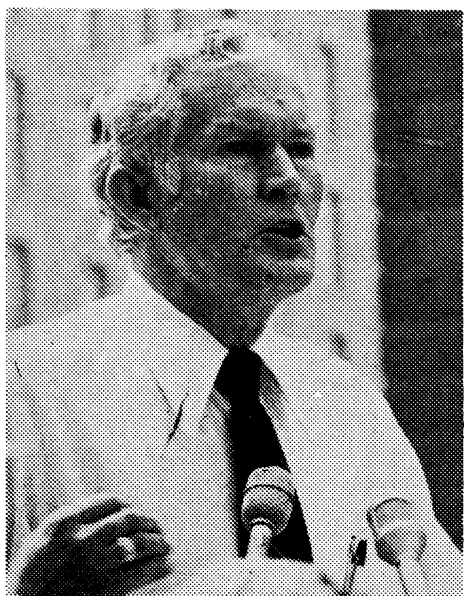
gotiations and on Oct. 10 publicly exposed the employers' tactics. The coal companies had rejected virtually all the union's health and safety demands, Miller said, and had declared these issues no longer open to negotiation.

The strategy of the companies is clearly to provoke a short strike, rely on government mediators for a wage settlement, demand government intervention to resolve the "national emergency," and force the miners back to work without any settlement of the safety issue.

What the union will do if a strike does occur has not yet been announced. If it goes on a campaign to publicize the mine death rates and expose the exorbitant coal profits by demanding that the companies' books be opened, and if it demands a full public investigation into mine conditions, it can win many allies in its fight and effectively counter the propaganda drive the government and industry is bound to launch.

By calling for full support from the rest of the union movement, from students, and from consumers, the union could mobilize a powerful support movement to stay the hand of the government in its strikebreaking tactics.

A victory for the miners in this struggle would be an opening wedge in the fight to nationalize the coal industry under union control, a first step toward solving the energy crisis.



Militant/Steve Watson

MILLER: Warns that 'flag-waving appeals' will not influence miners.

Coal bosses try to provoke strike over safety

By CINDY JAQUITH

Since the United Mine Workers (UMW) and the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association (BCOA) began contract talks seven weeks ago, 22 miners have perished in the coal pits, the victims of murderous working conditions that spell profits for the coal bosses.

Safety is the central issue in the negotiations, which blew up early this month when the UMW representatives walked out and publicly denounced the BCOA. Although the talks have now resumed, little time is left before the expiration of the current contract on Nov. 12.

The key safety demands of the UMW are the right to walk out of unsafe mines, the union's right to inspect mines, and a company-paid, union-elected safety inspector to work full-time in each mine. The coal companies oppose these demands because

they are a step toward union control of working conditions.

In a statement released Oct. 10, UMW President Arnold Miller charged that the BCOA had made a deliberately provocative "final offer" on the safety demands. ". . . the BCOA rejected all UMWA health, safety, and manpower training proposals virtually out of hand," Miller said.

In addition, the BCOA made such blatant proposals as demanding the right to cut the wages of workers with black lung when they transfer to less dusty work areas!

"After all the tragedies that have befallen coal miners over the years," said Miller, ". . . the coal industry's proposal in the area of safety is to ask for a three-year renewal of their license to kill. This is absolutely unacceptable to coal miners and the BCOA knows it."

The coal operators want to force a strike, Miller explained, "and then demand governmental intervention in order to undermine the bargaining power of the UMWA."

"I can only say that such a strategy is a dangerous miscalculation of the mood of 120,000 working United Mine Workers who will ratify the 1974 agreement and the determination of the UMWA to protect its membership."

Miller said the union is prepared for a strike if the BCOA refuses to budge on safety, and he warned that concessions on other demands, such as wages, cannot substitute.

The negotiations have not even gotten to the union's economic demands yet. The UMW wants a cost-of-living clause both in working miners' wages and in pensions, a wage increase, sick pay, and improved hospital benefits.

The BCOA will be hard-pressed to

plead poverty in the negotiations. According to UMW research, the price of coal sold to power plants jumped 64.3 percent in the year ending May 1974, and the price of coal sold to the Tennessee Valley Authority has soared 112 percent in the past year.

Is it any wonder, then, that the Pittston Company had an 868 percent increase in profits in the first half of 1974? Or that Consolidation Coal's profits jumped 111 percent, and Island Creek Coal's 403 percent?

Miners' real wages, in the meantime, have fallen at least 4 percent since the 1971 contract went into effect.

The coal bosses have been the beneficiaries of inflation and the energy crisis all down the line, while miners have been sacrificing their lives and their standard of living. This is at the heart of the current contract talks.

Borax strikers in bitter struggle for rights

By MIGUEL PENDAS
and GEORGE JOHNSON

BORON, Calif.—This town of 2,800 in the Mojave Desert is the site of the gigantic mining and refining plant of the U.S. Borax and Chemical Company.

It is also the scene of a bitter strike by 800 borax miners. For four months, strikers have braved police brutality, hostile courts, and biased newspaper coverage, as well as scabbing by other unions.

U.S. Borax has come a long way since the "20-mule team" days. It has a monopoly on the world supply of borax, an essential industrial product. Enjoying a monopoly position, it is dragging out the strike and driving up borax prices, while it tries to destroy the union.

Coverage of the strike by the capitalist news media has focused on alleged acts of violence by the workers. But it is the strikers who have been the victims of violence by police and company goons.

On Sept. 23 the cops attacked a group of 50 to 60 strikers standing by the side of the road leading to the plant. They were forced to stand there because an injunction limited the number that could join the picket line, striker Kay Barlow told *The Militant*. She was a crusher operator before the strike.

A force of 60 Kern County sheriff's deputies and 40 California Highway Patrol officers were escorting in the scabs. The cops declared an "unlawful assembly" and tried to provoke the strikers with insults. The workers complied with the order to disperse, but the cops attacked anyway.

Three of them grabbed Barlow, who was pregnant and weighs only 110 pounds, while a fourth jabbed her in the stomach and beat her with his club, causing her to be hospitalized and to suffer a miscarriage. She is still charged with unlawful assembly.

Paul Williams, who has been working at the plant for 14 years, was also trying to disperse, he told *The Militant*, when the cops just walked up to him and beat him across the face with their clubs.

About 20 strikers were arrested that day. The charges were so flimsy that most of them had to be dropped.

No good cops

"The whole thing was planned," said Barlow. She has some cops for neighbors, she added. "At the beginning, I thought they were on our side too,



Militant/George Johnson
Borax miners in Mojave Desert have been on strike for four months against company's union-busting drive.

but they're not. The whole county is prejudiced against us: the cops, the government, and [Governor Ronald] Reagan.

Williams said that before the strike he used to think that there were good cops and bad cops. But now he believes that "one pig is as good as another pig."

In addition to sending the California Highway Patrol in to harass strikers, the Reagan administration has helped the company in other ways. Attorney General Evelle Younger personally intervened to have charges dropped against a company supervisor who reportedly shot at a striker, Gross Miller.

Besides the regular cops, the company has hired about 70 private guards to patrol the plant and intimidate strikers.

Scabbing foremen have been clearing the shelves in local gun stores. The cops look the other way while scabs bring guns into the plant and take the license plates off their cars. But a striker who so much as spits on the sidewalk will get a ticket.

Despite the ferocity of the union-busting drive, the Borax workers have good reason to hang tough in their strike. Most of the jobs in the plant and open-pit mine are hard and dangerous. In the summer, the desert heat often reaches 120 degrees. A concentration of arsenic in the boric acid causes a high incidence of heart attacks and emphysema among borax workers.

Although they live and work in the desert, the Borax miners are mem-

bers of Local 30 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

Issues in strike

The main issue in the strike has become the company's effort to institute new work rules that would be tantamount to eliminating the union's ability to defend the workers' rights.

The company wants the right to "consolidate" jobs; that is, merge workers now doing different jobs into a labor pool. This would mean the elimination of more than 200 jobs, the union estimates, and probably an increased work load to boot.

The company is also demanding the right to fill new jobs with nonunion workers. And, as a precondition to settling, the company is asking not only to be able to retain the scabs, but even to give them seniority over the returning strikers!

To top it all off, the company demands practically unlimited rights to discipline workers, including for actions taken off the job.

The negotiating committee, which consists of five rank-and-file members elected by the membership and two officers, has flatly rejected these efforts to shove Local 30 out the door.

Wages are also an issue. The union is demanding a 20 percent increase and a cost-of-living clause. The average wage at Borax is only \$5.04 an hour.

The company is offering 10 percent and wants to keep the union tied to the contract for three years.

As Gene Pope, secretary-treasurer of Local 30, explained to *The Militant*, this stingy offer is being made by a company that raked in \$130-million in profits in 1973.

The strike has been effective, and morale is high. Only 47 union members out of 800 have gone back in. Supervisory personnel are trying to keep the operation going.

Production has been cut by 85 percent, according to union estimates.

Scab policy

However firm the ranks of Local 30 have been, other unions have shown little strike solidarity. The vice-president of the Kern-Inyo County Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, has personally led construction trades union members across Local 30's picket lines.

However, opposition is building among rank-and-file construction workers to the Labor Council's policy. Many workers realize that if Local 30 is busted, their union could be next on U.S. Borax's list.

One local of bricklayers has refused to cross the lines. And railroad workers will not bring cars into the company property; foremen have to do it themselves.

Local 30's struggle with U.S. Borax has been made more difficult by the fact that the international union does not have a strike fund. Therefore, no strike benefits are being paid. About

There are more than 4,000 commercial uses of borax, in everything from ovenware to weed killer to corn flakes.

The Borax strikers are asking their supporters not to buy retail products made principally from borax. These include: Borateem, Luron, Boraxo, and Byabor.

375 strikers have been forced to seek welfare and food stamps from the county. Thirty thousand dollars in donations from other ILWU locals has been received and is being loaned out to those strikers in the most difficult financial situations. Membership meetings decide how the money is to be used.

About half the strikers have been able to find some kind of work to tide them over. Some have had to travel as far as the state of Washington. Most of the jobs are provided through ILWU hiring halls on the coast.

Boron trade unionists fight for control of town

BORON, Calif.—One of the conflicts in the Borax strike that is not part of the negotiations is the fight for control of the town. The union members and their families make up nearly the entire population. The rest are for the most part company supervisors; some are shopkeepers and civilian personnel from nearby Edwards Air Force Base.

The union's influence is so strong here that the local utility companies will not cut off services to strikers who have not been able to keep up payments. There is also strong pressure on the welfare department to continue aid to strikers, even though the company has tried to have it terminated.

And one foreman who owns a hardware store in town is finding

customers are few and far between these days. There was no need to formally organize a boycott. Everybody knows he's a scab.

There is no city government in Boron since it is an unincorporated part of Kern County. This is to the company's liking, because it doesn't have to pay a dime in city taxes. The company ran the town for years by dominating institutions such as the school, hospital, and water boards. But union members are slowly taking them all over.

There is also no Democratic or Republican Party apparatus in Boron. Consequently, the union itself has become the prime focus of electoral activity.

Union members have run, as

union members, for the school and water boards, winning a majority.

Naturally, this upsets the company. But the strike situation has accelerated the desire of the union members to continue this process.

A recent incident with the hospital illustrates this. When the hospital began giving physicals to scabs, the union protested. The hospital board, instead of stopping the examinations, shut the hospital down completely. So the union set up its own medical facilities, with qualified paramedics, till the hospital reopened.

But union members say this isn't good enough. At a membership meeting Oct. 1, it was decided to work to democratize the election of the hospital board and to remove

all procompany members.

As strike leader Gene Pope put it, "We've got to obtain control of the town in order that we can run our own lives, instead of having Borax tell us when we can go to the hospital or when we can't."



Militant/George Johnson

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'What do we want? A union!'

Macmillan workers walk out over firings

By CAROL LISKER

NEW YORK—Employees of Macmillan, Inc., a major publishing conglomerate, walked off the job Oct. 17 to protest the "blitzkrieg" firing of some 300 of their co-workers. Mass picket lines in front of Macmillan's offices here are demanding reinstatement of all those fired, as well as union recognition.

Considerable support has already been pledged to the strikers from the organized labor movement, and work is proceeding to extend this support.

Carol Lisker is a member of the organizing committee at Macmillan, Inc., for Local 153, OPEIU, AFL-CIO.

The New York Central Trades and Labor Council voted Oct. 17 to send a letter to all AFL-CIO unions in the city, asking that the picket line be honored, that donations be made, and that pickets be sent to help walk the line at Macmillan.

The New York City Teamster's Council has sanctioned the strike, and sanction is also being sought from the Philadelphia Teamster's Council, to stop traffic in and out of Macmillan's Riverside, N.J., warehouse.

Macmillan workers had been organizing to gain union representation for more than six months. On Oct. 11, Local 153, Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU), AFL-CIO, filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) for a union recognition election.

The previous day a union messenger had tried to deliver written notice of the union's intentions to the chairman of the board at Macmillan, Raymond Hagel. Hagel refused to accept the letter.

The very morning the union filed its petition, a memo from Hagel was posted on bulletin boards throughout the Macmillan building. It stated that business conditions dictated "some re-

duction of personnel."

Monday morning, Oct. 14, the firings began. By noon the number fired stood at 58; by five o'clock it had reached 100.

The firings continued Tuesday and Wednesday with the final total near 300.

Hagel and Macmillan's top management claim their ruthlessly sudden and arbitrary dismissals were made necessary by "poor business conditions." However, according to the *New York Times*, total sales and revenues for the third quarter of 1974 were \$126,896,000—up from the third quarter of last year by \$13,756,000.

Whole departments have been terminated, including some of those most profitable for the corporation, such as Juvenile Marketing. This recklessness—and the fact that many of those fired were union activists—made it clear that the real reason for the firings was different.

Macmillan hopes to sow fear and demoralization among employees in order to bust the union drive. The firings are also aimed at the Macmillan Women's Group.

The Women's Group, which had been meeting secretly for more than a year, surfaced in September when the state attorney general's office filed a complaint against Macmillan for sexist and racist hiring, promotion, and pay policies. The group held its first public meeting five days before the firings began. About 200 women attended that meeting. Among those fired were key leaders and organizers of the Macmillan Women's Group.

While the initial reaction of many employees to the firings was exactly the kind of panic management had hoped to create, the union organizing committee began to talk about fighting back right away.

By Oct. 15 the mood of the majority of workers had changed to one of anger. A mass meeting called that night drew 250 workers, who voted to hold a strike rally at noon the next day and to walk out on Oct. 17.



Militant/Janice Lynn

Harper & Row strike victory earlier this year showed gains publishing workers can make through unions.

Workers coming in the next morning were greeted by more than a score of leafleters with fliers that read: "STRIKE TOMORROW FOR OUR JOBS—MEETING TODAY."

An enthusiastic meeting of several hundred workers took place at noon. The organizing committee presented the arguments for striking to a cheering, clapping rally.

Local 153 has also filed an unfair labor practice charge against the firings with the NLRB. The strike is both a protest against the unfair labor practice and a strike for union recognition.

Three hundred pickets marched in front of the entrance to Macmillan's Oct. 17, beginning at 7 a.m. Although the cops hindered the pickets with barricades, a number of employees who appeared for work were turned away. An even greater number did not show in the first place, knowing there was going to be a strike.

Spirits on the line have been high, with chants and songs going on almost continuously for 11 hours a day. Songs range from "Solidarity Forever" and other labor songs to inventive jingles, such as: "The layoffs are a 'comin' and Macmillan's gettin' fat/ Time to put a penny in Hagel's hat/ If you haven't got a penny, then a ha' penny will do/ If you haven't got a ha' penny, you work for Macmillan too."

Other chants are: "Hagel, Hagel, what's your pay? Seven hundred fifty dollars a day!" and "What do we want? A union! When do we want it? Now!"

Thursday and Friday many workers from other publishing houses came to the lines to participate in the picketing. Among them were workers from G. P. Putnam's, where Local 153, OPEIU, is also conducting an organizing drive. Putnam's workers filed for

an NLRB election before Macmillan.

Now Putnam's management has taken a cue from Hagel and begun firing people. Seven had been fired as of Oct. 20, including several key activists on the organizing committee. Walter Minton, president of Putnam's, bluntly told those he fired that he didn't want a union in his house.

Workers from about a dozen other publishing houses marched on the line at Macmillan, including workers from Harper & Row, who waged a successful strike in a contract dispute last June; Macmillan's children's book author Ezra Jack Keats; members of Office Workers United; and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign.

Work is also under way to solicit support from authors, free-lancers, and agents. Strikers and strike supporters have been leafletting Macmillan subsidiaries, such as the Brentano's bookstores and G. Schirmer's music stores, calling for a boycott of these businesses. More than 50 percent of the customers have turned away, according to leafleters.

The Macmillan fight is important not only for the workers on strike. It is a test between the bosses and the workers of the entire publishing industry. Book publishing is a traditionally unorganized, low-paying industry in which workers have been expected to content themselves with "prestige" in place of money and job security.

This is no longer the case. Workers in the industry, about 80 percent of whom are women, are no longer ready to accept management's terms. The Harper & Row strike proved that a unionized work force in the publishing industry can fight the arbitrary actions of the publishing bosses and win. This same issue is at stake in the Macmillan strike.

Socialists support strikers

"If Macmillan claims it can't pay decent wages to *all* employees, let's open the financial books and see," says a statement supporting the Macmillan strike issued by the New York Socialist Workers Party campaign. The SWP candidates have pledged full support to the Macmillan employees and have joined the strike picket lines along with campaign supporters. Among those picketing are SWP senatorial candidate Rebecca Finch and SWP congressional candidate Claire Moriarty, who is active in the union organizing drive at G. B. Putnam's publishing house.



Militant/Jean Vertheim
Socialist congressional candidate
Claire Moriarty.

CLUW women back strike at Detroit bindery

By RUTH GETTS

DETROIT—Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) activists here are supporting the nine-week-old strike by employees at the Helm bindery plant. The 250 Helm strikers, mostly women, are members of the Graphic Arts International Union, Local 20B.

Members of the Wayne County organizing committee of CLUW have joined the Helm workers on the picket line and have also picketed at Somebody Sometime, a temporary job agency that is providing Helm with scabs.

The main demands in the Helm strike are for a cost-of-living escalator

clause and for the right of the union to represent the employees in collective bargaining.

The company is out to bust the union and drive down wages. Many bindery operations are being phased out at the plant, and this, claims management, means that the company is no longer really a bindery and doesn't have to bargain with the union or pay union-scale wages.

Initially the boss tried to offer workers a one-year moratorium on wages and no cost-of-living clause. Since then, the company has made a paltry 5 percent wage offer, but is still resisting the cost-of-living clause and

the demand for union representation.

The company is determined to be classified out of the bindery category, so it can "legally" pay new workers \$1.80 to \$2.25 an hour less than the going rate in the industry. The scabs sent in to keep the plant going during the strike are receiving \$1.80 an hour. Most of them are Black women who were previously unemployed.

CLUW activists are urging that all Detroit unions join in supporting the workers at Helm. They point out that if Helm is able to break this strike, it will set a precedent for union-busting attacks at other plants.

Timberlane strikers: no letup in militancy

By JON HILLSON

PLAISTOW, N.H.—Members of the Timberlane Regional Education Association (TREA), now entering the ninth month of the longest teachers strike in U.S. history, remain determined to use their action to show how teacher rights can be won.

"We know we aren't going to get our jobs back," Diane Walsh, a special education teacher and TREA secretary, said in a recent interview. "But the strike has always been for more than that."

The TREA, an affiliate of the National Education Association (NEA), went out on strike last Feb. 26 after the local school board refused to recognize it as a collective bargaining agent. Teachers were seeking a single, master contract. The local board has refused to even negotiate with the TREA.

Since then, according to Walsh, the themes of the strike have been "teacher unity and teacher rights" to ensure quality education.

The length and bitterness of the strike, with nearly 100 teachers arrested for picketing, followed by a TREA court victory to protect picketing rights, have led to profound changes in the thinking of the strikers.

"I had a lot of conflict between the word 'professional' and the word 'labor' in that all through college we were told we were professional people," said Dave Wilson, the strike's placement director and a physical education instructor for eight years in the Timberlane district.

"But we aren't treated like professionals. We don't have the right to negotiate. Without a master contract, we can't determine the environment we teach in."

"I'm not sure if we are a union, although our tactics are taken from the labor movement," he said. "But there are three ways to change things. One is evolution, which is what teachers in this state have been doing for years, sitting back and letting things happen."

"The next way is planned change, where you sit down and negotiate, bargain, and so on."

"Now when these things don't work," Wilson said, "the only alternative you have left, what we are pushed into here, is revolution."

The tactics used to build the strike have included picketing, rallies, news conferences, and speaking engagements. In New Hampshire, a noto-



Timberlane teachers marching through New Hampshire towns

TREA

riously nonunion state, such activity is virtually unique.

Twice in the early stage of the strike, high school students walked out in support of the teachers and shut down the regional high school. "They were told to go back or face fines and the chance they wouldn't graduate," Walsh said.

Walsh, who began her first year of teaching five months before the strike, is divorced and has one child. "When I was in college, I hardly knew teacher associations existed," she said. "I had no ideas about teacher strikes. Now, my little girl knows what a scab is. When people ask her what her mother does, she says, 'she pickets.'"

While many of the 150 original strikers have found work elsewhere, only 11 have accepted the scab terms of the school board, which has advertised as far away as Louisiana and Arizona for strikebreakers. The remaining teachers are sustained by "adoption plans" of other NEA affiliates.

Both Walsh and Wilson emphasized the valuable role of the NEA in aiding the strike. The right-wing *Manchester Union Leader*, the state's only daily newspaper, charges the NEA with being an "outside agitator," but Walsh dismissed the claim. "We decided to strike," she said. "They helped us, worked with us, and that all shows the need for national organization."

Both teachers believe that a single national teacher organization would benefit teachers. "We have received a lot of help from the New York state teachers organization [a merged NEA-

American Federation of Teachers group]," Wilson said.

Although none of the teachers expect to be rehired, Wilson and Walsh believe the strike has meant gains for teachers. As a result of the TREA strike, they say, a number of other New Hampshire school boards have recognized NEA affiliates as bargaining agents and have signed master contracts.

Representatives of the TREA have embarked on speaking tours of New Hampshire and New England, and have gone to other state NEA conventions to spread the word about the strike.

Would the teachers repeat their strike vote if they had known what a long and difficult struggle would follow?

"I had to grow a lot with the strike," said Wilson, who has two young children. "There was a lot of anxiety. My wife wasn't sure. But after the first month, she said, 'If you go back I'll divorce you.' I'd definitely do it again."

Diane Walsh had a similar response. "There have been ups and downs, but generally the mood is terrific, people are together. For me, it's the first time I've ever fought for something I've believed in."

Both strikers referred frequently to "the teachers movement." The spirit and solidarity of their strike, Wilson said, flows from the fact that "we are fighting for more than jobs and a contract—but for a belief, a right, a concept that teachers have to be organized and stand together to be treated like professionals, and have to do anything possible to make sure of it."

"We proved in Timberlane they can't buy us off," Wilson said.



High school students have walked out twice in support of teachers

TREA

Cops raid L.A. radio station, seize files

By WALTER LIPPMANN

LOS ANGELES—Detectives from the Los Angeles Police Department staged an unsuccessful eight-and-one-half-hour search of the offices of radio station KPFK here on Oct. 10.

Support for the station has come swiftly from the prestigious Reporters' Committee for Freedom of the Press, which includes such prominent figures as Walter Cronkite, as well as from the American Civil Liberties Union, Common Cause, and others. The Committee for Freedom of the Press has assumed KPFK's legal expenses.

The cops claimed to be looking for the original copy of a taped message received by the station from a group identifying itself as the "New World Liberation Front."

The group had claimed credit for the recent bombings of two Sheraton hotels, in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Sheraton is a subsidiary of In-

ternational Telephone and Telegraph (ITT). The bombings were in protest against the company's involvement in the Chilean coup.

The cops took 14 items during their search, according to station manager Will Lewis. Among these were an *Associated Press* wire dispatch, clippings from the *Los Angeles Times*, reporters' notes, telephone numbers from personal directories, and a taped chronology of the Weather Underground and the Symbionese Liberation Army.

Public affairs director Jim Berland said, "They were especially interested in the accounting office, our employment records, and the files of the FBI's surveillance over the Black Panther Party, which had been released as a result of a suit under the federal Freedom of Information Act."

Berland continued, "These were taken despite the fact that the search warrant was specifically limited to ma-

terials on the "New World Liberation Front."

This was the second time in recent months that the station has been subjected to official harassment.

Station manager Lewis spent 16 days in federal prison this past August for refusing to turn over taped messages from the Symbionese Liberation Army.

The station has refused to turn over the materials in order to protect the confidentiality of its news sources, and bases its position on the recently enacted California Shield Law.

Lewis told *The Militant*, "The real issue here is the California Shield Law: Should KPFK do anything to weaken this law, which has not even been tested in the courts?"

The day after the search, Lewis was subpoenaed to appear before a federal grand jury and was ordered to turn over the tape.

Lewis appeared, but indicated that he would decline to turn over the tape, since he believes that the California Shield Law should apply in this case.

Tape recordings were not included in the original law. But it has since been amended to cover tapes, effective January 1975.

The timing of the federal subpoena, just one day after the unsuccessful local search, strongly suggests collusion between local and federal government officials.

The station, which is part of the listener-sponsored Pacifica network, has been hard hit by the drain of legal battles to defend its democratic rights. It is actively considering a lawsuit against city and police officials because of these acts.

Statements of support should be sent to: KPFK, 3729 N. Cahuenga, Hollywood, Calif. 91604.

Family fears further investigations

Revelations batter Rockefeller credibility

By DICK ROBERTS

Nelson Rockefeller's "confirmation is taken for granted, and the Senate Rules Committee has ended the first phase of its hearings with near unanimity expected," the *Christian Science Monitor's* Washington correspondent Richard Strout wrote Sept. 27.

Rockefeller, it will be remembered, told the Senate Rules Committee: "I don't wield economic power. . . . This myth about the power which my family exercises needs to be brought out into the open. It just doesn't exist."

That was one month ago.

Today Rockefeller's confirmation is in doubt. The experts were off on two counts:

They underestimated the impact of a Watergate-sensitized public. The more facts came out about Rockefeller, the more people wanted to know. As President Ford's popularity declined precipitously with the Nixon pardon, enthusiasm about Rockefeller sank along with it.

Following the pardon, public approval of Ford took the sharpest nose dive ever recorded in such a short period by the Gallup poll. His rating dropped 21 points in six weeks, from 71 percent approval to only 50 percent approval.

The experts also underestimated the consequences of the fact that Rockefeller is a member of the ruling class.

They thought: With that amount of money Rockefeller just can't have skeletons in the closet. He's too rich to have to cheat his way into power.

The view is myopic, to say the least.

Precisely because they are members of the richest and most powerful ruling class in history, the rulers of this country have skeletons locked in more vaults than even they can remember.

Thus the mounting revelations about Nelson Rockefeller's fortune have "sent shock waves" through the entire Rockefeller family, says Philip Greer in the Oct. 22 *New York Post*.

The family is "deeply disturbed" at the "possibility that one or more of his brothers may be drawn into the controversy," says Greer. They will not advise Nelson to pull out, however, because "if he backs off, he might look like he's admitting there are worse stories to come."

Vast empire

Rockefeller's tills stretch from the treasuries of the New York state and city governments to the federal government. The Rockefeller industrial and banking empire blankets North and South America. Exxon and Chase Manhattan Bank, two of the world's largest multinational corporations, have interests in virtually every country of the capitalist world.

Part of the story about how power is wielded in this global empire is beginning to come out.

Through a vast network of bribes Nelson Rockefeller has built up a personal retinue that includes politicians on all levels of government.

● **Henry Kissinger, \$50,000.** The secretary of state guided Rockefeller on national and international issues for 13 years. Kissinger received the \$50,000 "gift" in January 1969 as he was about to become President Nixon's top national security adviser.

● **L. Judson Morhouse, \$86,313.** He served as chairman of the New York Republican Party for eight years. Money acquired from Rockefeller went into Long Island real estate. When Morhouse was convicted of bribery in a liquor-license scandal, Rockefeller, as New York governor, commuted his sentence.

● **Edward Logue, \$176,389.** An urban planner and director of the New York State Urban Development Corp., which oversees urban renewal and so-called low-income housing projects.

● **William Ronan, \$625,000.** The chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, previously the chairman of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority. These two institutions, which operate New York buses and subways and more than 20 bridges, tunnels, airports, and freight terminals, are repositories of hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of Rockefeller investments, both directly and through the family's Chase Manhattan Bank.

Democrats and Republicans

The list goes on and on.

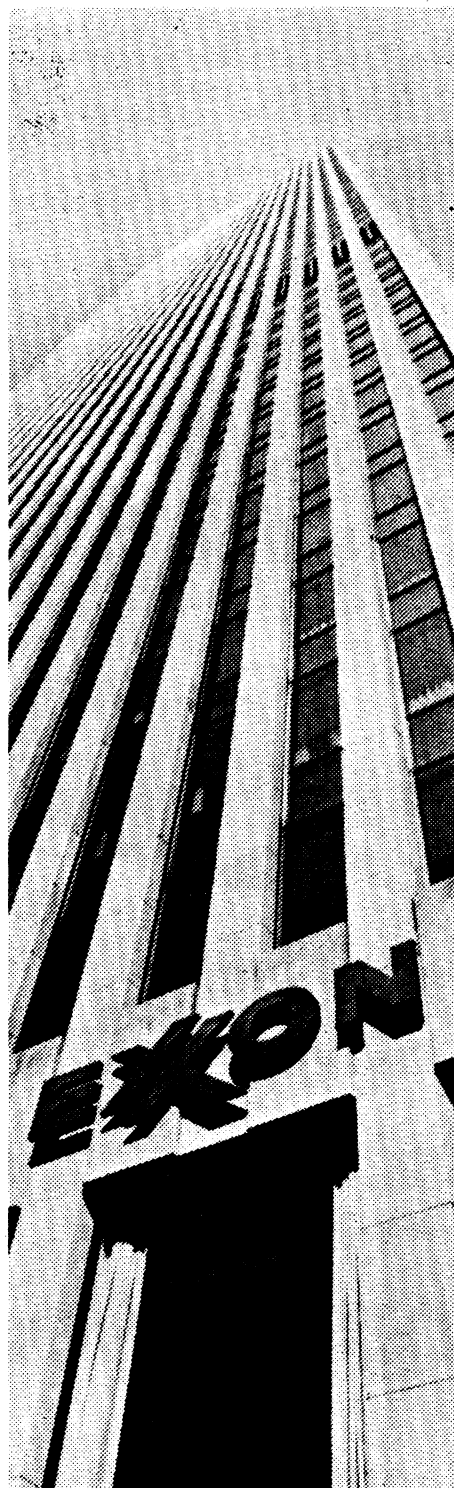
Time magazine disclosed Oct. 21 that since 1968 at least 22 members of the House and Senate received Rockefeller campaign contributions. The Democrats and Republicans include members of both the House and Senate committees that are holding the Rockefeller confirmation hearings.

New York Senator Jacob Javits, Republican, received \$28,790.

New York Brooklyn Democratic Party machine boss Meade Esposito received a Picasso painting.

New York Republican gubernatorial candidate Malcolm Wilson, the present governor, was appointed by Rockefeller.

Wilson's Democratic opponent, Congressman Hugh Carey, was helped



The Rockefeller empire stretches around the globe.



into his present post because Rockefeller paid off a Conservative candidate to run in the congressional elections in order to split the Republican vote.

Rockefeller's own campaign hooliganism may be one of the issues that sinks him. In 1970 Rockefeller financed a book to smear his Democratic opponent, Arthur Goldberg. The book included scarcely veiled anti-Semitism.

When the book first came to light, Rockefeller claimed he had nothing to do with it, that his brother Laurance financed the project. "I had heard about it at the time but knew nothing about its preparation or financing," Rockefeller publicly stated Oct. 10.

But in a telegram to Goldberg Oct. 12 Rockefeller said: "It is quite clear that when the project was brought to my attention, I should have immediately taken steps to see to it that it was stopped."

In other words, Rockefeller was lying before about having no responsibility.

Tax dodges

It had previously been revealed that in 1970, on a declared total income of more than \$2.4-million, Rockefeller paid no federal income taxes.

On Oct. 18, Rockefeller revealed—in an obvious attempt to minimize damages from a leak before it opened—that he owed an additional \$820,718 in federal income taxes and \$83,000 in gift taxes, a total of \$903,718. This was owed because the Internal Revenue Service balked at some of Rockefeller's deductions.

As further information came to light about both federal and state income taxes, it was found that Rockefeller deducted: \$274,704 for a television series he narrated as governor and personally financed; \$10,500 for a Chrysler limousine; \$3,280 for streamers and battle flags; and \$348,176 for improvements in the executive mansion in Albany.

A total of \$656,393 in deductions for gifts to New York State was included in a list of \$24.7-million worth of gifts to "charitable, educational and tax-exempt organizations"—to 41 universities; 18 secondary schools, mostly private prep schools; 17 churches and church organizations; 12 museums; nine hospitals; and two symphony orchestras.

New York bonds

The huge gift to Ronan highlights an important aspect of ruling-class power and income that is little understood. This is the fact that most public transportation and construction, on the municipal, state, and federal level,

is financed through bond issues, the overwhelming majority of which are held by life insurance companies, banks, and their ruling-class owners.

In order to raise the funds for these large "public" projects, bonds are issued by the various institutions involved, sometimes directly by the city, state, and federal governments, and sometimes indirectly by agencies like the Port Authority and Metropolitan Transportation Agency.

The bonds are issued in very high denominations, running from lows of about \$5,000 each into the tens of millions of dollars, and the bond issues are purchased and managed by banks or bank consortiums.

The interest on these bonds, which in many cases is tax-free, is then paid to the owners by the agencies involved.

Thus government taxes, highway, bridge and tunnel tolls, parking lot fees, and fares on the buses and subways become a key source of income for the ruling class.

It was reported that Nelson Rockefeller personally holds 1,000,000 shares of Port of New York Authority construction bonds, worth more than \$1-million.

But these private holdings are small compared to the massive holdings of the life insurance companies and banks.

The Chase Manhattan Bank is the largest single holder of New York City bonds, for example. Its holdings are highly secretive and the exact amounts are known only to the inner circles of financiers.

Nevertheless, a municipal bond expert told me in an interview last year at the Chase Manhattan Bank that it holds up to 10 percent of the long-term and 25 percent of the short-term debt of New York City.

By rough calculations this could amount to \$2-billion worth of bonds, paying annual interest in the realm of \$100- to \$150-million.

It is this kind of gigantic flow of funds into their banks that explains why the ruling class would be willing to pay off an agent to the tune of more than half a million dollars. After all, that is only a small fraction of the bank's annual income from municipal holdings.

There is clearly much more to be told about Nelson Rockefeller. The full truth can only come out if the books of the banks and industries that he owns shares in are opened and the entire list of his agents at all levels of government is carefully examined.

If Rockefeller is already in hot water because of what has come out so far, one can imagine what would happen if the American public knew the full truth about its ruling class.

Militant sales drive hits record high with issue headed: 'Stop Boston lynch mobs!'

By ROSE OGDEN

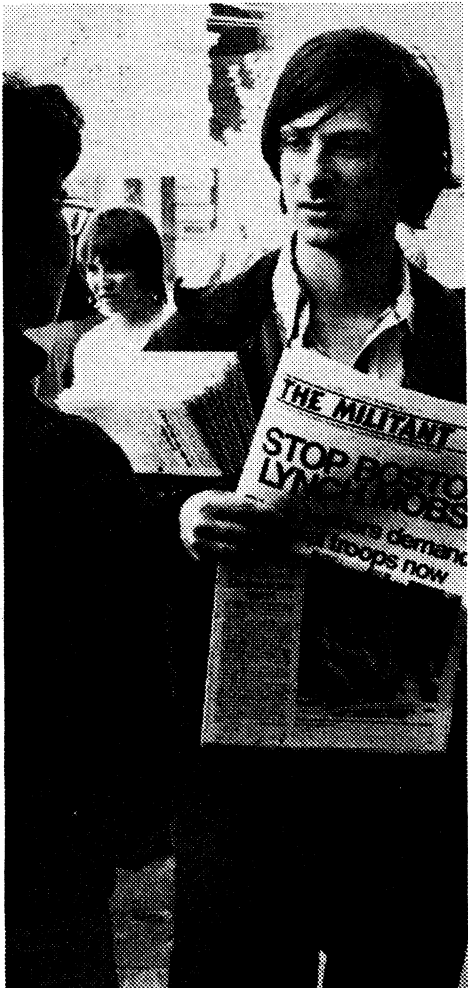
In our campaign to get out the truth about the racist attacks on Black education in Boston, we sold 15,255 copies of the Oct. 17 *Militant*, headlined "STOP BOSTON LYNCH MOBS!"

This is the highest street sales we have had in our *Militant* sales campaigns.

Boston supporters poured into the streets with this issue, selling 3,200 copies. "We sold everywhere and all the time," reports sales director Diana Travis. "And 80 percent of our sales were to Black people."

The top seller in Boston was Arthur Weeks, who sold 258 copies.

The *Militant* was an important



Widespread interest in struggle in Boston was reflected in enthusiastic response to *The Militant's* coverage.

source of news in Black communities in other parts of the country, particularly since the capitalist media has downplayed and distorted the nature of the struggle in Boston. More than 60 percent of the sales were to Black people.

"People were outraged to find out what was happening in Boston and they wanted to read *The Militant*," reports Craig Honts from Seattle.

Mike Kelly of Detroit says, "Many people had not heard about the attempted lynching of a Black man by white racists in Boston, so there was a lot of interest in what *The Militant* had to say."

Greg Guckenberg from the Twin Cities reports that "Blacks here agreed that federal troops should be sent to Boston to protect Black students."

Cleveland supporters sold 207 copies on campus, many to Black students.

In Central-East L.A., sales were brisk at regular *Militant* sales spots in the Black community. In addition, supporters found some new sales locations. They sold a total of 299 in Black neighborhoods.

The Militant's coverage of events in Boston also boosted subscription sales. Four people from Detroit spent two days at Central Michigan University and sold 80 subscriptions and 200 copies of the Oct. 18 issue.

Philadelphians sold 136 subscriptions by sending teams to campuses in Delaware and New Jersey, and by selling door-to-door in a Black neighborhood.

Milwaukee supporters sold 30 subscriptions on campus.

Our national goal is to sell 12,000 introductory subscriptions by Nov. 24. To date, 5,023 subscriptions have been sent in—42 percent of the goal. We should have 6,600 subscriptions now, or 55 percent of the goal.

To meet the national goal we need to step up the organization of subscription sales. In each area, supporters have to plan an all-out effort to meet their quotas.

A large number of these subscrip-

Sales scoreboard						
AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%			
Boston	600	3,200	533	Portland, Ore.	300	300 100
Detroit	600	1,160	193	Milwaukee	100	100 100
Houston	500	930	186	Sacramento, Calif.	10	10 100
Washington, DC	400	704	176	Shippensburg, Pa.	10	10 100
Philadelphia	400	662	166	Columbus, Ohio	10	10 100
Brooklyn, NY	400	618	155	Durham, NH	27	23 85
Lower Manhattan	450	674	150	LA (West Side)	400	283 71
Twin Cities	400	563	141	TOTAL	9,600	15,255 159
Glendale, Calif.	10	13	130	YOUNG SOCIALIST TEAMS		
Chicago	675	851	126	Upper Midwest	100	224 224
Denver	325	406	125	Mid-Atlantic	100	207 207
Ann Arbor, Mich.	40	49	123	Michigan/Indiana	100	178 178
St. Louis	400	487	122	New England	100	177 177
Pittsburgh	375	456	122	Missouri	100	166 166
Cleveland	250	305	122	Pennsylvania	100	158 158
San Diego	275	326	119	Ohio/Kentucky	100	150 150
Logan, Utah	40	45	113	Texas	100	121 121
Atlanta	475	531	112	Illinois/Wisc.	100	118 118
Nashville, Tenn.	27	30	111	Colorado	65	69 106
San Francisco	450	489	109	NY/NJ/Conn.	100	105 105
LA (Central-East)	450	481	107	Southern Calif.	100	103 103
Seattle	350	376	107	Northern Calif.	100	76 76
Upper West Side NY	425	452	106	Northwest	100	50 50
Oakland/Berkeley	700	711	102	Southeast	100	38 38
				TOTAL	1,465	1,940 132

tions will be sold on the campuses, where teams can go door-to-door in the dormitories. One important part of the subscription drive will be sending teams to schools in the outlying region, where *The Militant* is not regularly sold. Subscriptions sold in these areas will also expand the geographic influence of *The Militant*.

Supporters in many areas are also finding a good response to subscription sales conducted door-to-door in the Black community.

Members of the Upper Midwest Young Socialist team have sent in 130 subscriptions so far. They report that sales are good in off-campus housing and from socialist literature tables.

Pennsylvania team members have sent in 102 subscriptions.

The bulk of the subscriptions are being sold by members of the Young

Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party, but other supporters are also participating in the campaign.

All readers can help. Urge your friends and co-workers to subscribe. If you want to participate in a subscription sales team, contact the Young Socialist Alliance or Socialist Workers Party nearest you. See the Socialist Directory on page 26.

Our national goal for weekly street sales of *The Militant* has risen from 9,400 to 9,600, since supporters in a number of cities have increased their quotas. We want 9,600 to be the "rock bottom" we sell each week. In most cities, supporters have found they can go over their goals easily.

By accident, we left Twin Cities out of the list in last week's article of areas that have met their goal every week of the campaign.

Community-backed principal purged in Dist. 1

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER

NEW YORK—The third parent-chosen principal has been fired in Manhattan's school District 1 on the Lower East Side. José Luis Rodríguez, principal at Public School 34, has joined Ted Fletcher and Charles Berger of P. S. 188 on the purge list compiled by the racist five-person majority on the district's community school board.

The five—all white—are supporters of United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker, who has been leading a campaign against demands by the predominantly Puerto Rican parents of District 1 for more control of their children's education. An opening blow in this campaign was the firing last August of District 1 superintendent Luis Fuentes, a leader of the community struggle.

On Friday morning, Oct. 18, word arrived at P. S. 34 that the district's acting superintendent was on her way to the school with the police and a new principal. Parents had not been consulted about this decision, and they immediately began arriving at the school to take their children out.

By the time the new principal arrived, nearly 70 parents had barricaded Rodríguez's office, determined

that their choice for principal should remain at his job. Determined women and children sat with their arms crossed in lines across the front of the doorway. The acting superintendent—who got that job when Luis Fuentes, the parent-chosen superintendent, was purged—took refuge in the custodian's office with the new principal.

On Oct. 19 parents met and called a district-wide boycott that began Oct. 21. Parents from all 20 schools in the district have responded to the boycott call, with boycotts from 50 to 70 percent effective in about half the schools.

On Monday morning, as parents escorted José Luis Rodríguez into P. S. 34, security guards from the central board of education jumped Catherine Carlotti, a Black woman, and pushed her to the floor, seriously injuring her hip. Her husband was arrested after he tried to get his wife and children out of the school and ended up in a fight with the principal appointed by the racist board.

On Oct. 22, police escalated their attack against parents, students, and supporters of the boycott. José Luis Rodríguez and three parents were ar-

rested in the morning and held five and a half hours. As 200 people gathered outside the precinct office, cops dropped the more serious charges and released the four with tickets for trespassing.

In the afternoon a young Puerto Rican was arrested as he was speaking through a megaphone to parents gathered outside P. S. 34. He was brutally beaten.

Cops then went on a rampage, swinging clubs and going after whoever was handy, including bystanders. One woman suffered a broken jaw, another woman a broken bone in her chest, and two young teen-age students had their arms broken by the racist cops.

Reports of police brutality have been filed by witnesses who saw the beatings, and a demonstration at the superintendent's office has been called to demand an end to the arrests and beatings. That location was chosen because, as one parent expressed it, "This would not be happening if the acting superintendent were not carrying out the orders of Albert Shanker and his puppets. The acting superintendent must take a stand in defense of the parents, or she does not belong in our community."



Calendar

ATLANTA

A DEBATE ON THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT. Speakers: Martha Gaines, former statewide coordinator of NOW; others. Fri., Nov. 1, 8 p.m. S.A. Building, Room 460, Georgia State Univ. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

DENVER

PRISONERS SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE DEATH PENALTY—VOTE NO ON AMENDMENT 2. Speakers: Kenny Twyford, prisoner; others. Fri., Nov. 1, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

DETROIT

LITTLE ROCK 1957—BOSTON 1974: LESSONS FOR BLACK LIBERATION. Speakers: B.R. Washington, SWP candidate for attorney general; Margaret Scott, SWP. Fri., Nov. 1, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

HOUSTON

TEXAS SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET. Speakers: Sherry Smith, SWP candidate for governor; Linda Jenness, SWP 1972 presidential candidate; Harry Ring, Militant Southwest Bureau editor; Pedro Vasquez, SWP candidate for attorney general. Sat. Nov. 2, 6 p.m., refreshments; 7 p.m., dinner; 8:30 p.m., program. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$5 for dinner; \$1.50 for program only. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

MILWAUKEE

POLICE TERROR: A SOCIALIST STRATEGY FOR FIGHTING BACK. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, cochairman, Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee. **THE CASE OF RAY MENDOZA.** Speaker: Sacramento Delgadillo, Ray Mendoza defense committee. Wed., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee union building, Wisconsin Room lounge. 2200 East Kenwood Blvd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 963-5551.

NEW YORK CITY

SWP CANDIDATES ON TELEVISION. Sat., Nov. 2, WNBC (channel 4). 1:30 p.m., Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for governor; 2:30 p.m., Rebecca Finch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; 4 p.m., Ray Markey, SWP candidate for attorney general. Mon., Nov. 4, 11:30 a.m., WNEW (channel 5), Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for governor.

PHILADELPHIA

POLITICAL ALTERNATIVES IN '74: A DEBATE. Speakers: representatives from Young Democrats, Young Republicans, and Young Socialists for Scherr and Adachi. Fri., Nov. 1, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

PITTSBURGH

HOW CAN ELECTION LAWS BE REFORMED? Speakers: Al Kukovich, Common Cause; Charles Robb, executive director, Pittsburgh American Civil Liberties Union; Roberta Scherr, SWP candidate for governor. Fri., Nov. 1, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. (Fifth and Halket). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

TWIN CITIES

WOMEN AND HEALTH CARE. Speakers: Jane Van Deusen, SWP candidate for governor, registered nurse; others. Fri., Nov. 1, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave., S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...debate

Continued from page 6

tical politicians" of the Democratic Party that we would be branded as radicals, "reds," and so on.

Congress never ended that war. They never voted to end it, just like they never voted a declaration of war. What forced the U. S. government to pull the half-million troops out of Vietnam was the combined independent force of the Vietnamese and the mass antiwar movement.

That to my mind is real practical politics.

For a few individuals I will grant it is very practical to work in the Democratic Party. Today it is the best chance you have of getting elected to Congress. But that isn't the same as being practical in politics. Being practical in politics is getting those things done that advance our liberation struggle.

The very first practical thing to do is to remove roadblocks to our liberation. The main roadblock today is the parties of the ruling class. If we can eliminate that roadblock, all the others are much easier.

After Nov. 5 the SWP will still be campaigning. We will still be doing those things that have won everything that Black and working people have won in the past—marching, demonstrating, educating ourselves and others.

We do not have to apologize for our party like John Conyers does. He has never won any gain for the struggle by being a Democrat. Every gain that has been made has been made independent of his party, in spite of his party, in struggle against his party.

If you want to help in the struggle, you can endorse my campaign, you can vote for me to show your support. But most important of all—you can join the Young Socialist Alliance. You can say that your ideas are so important that you will fight for them 365 days a year, not just at election time. On Nov. 6 we will still be here fighting, and like the abolitionists, we are confident that we will win in the showdown battles that really count.

...Clark

Continued from page 8

shows through. While attacking Javits for taking big contributions, Clark has publicly endorsed Hugh Carey, Democratic candidate for governor of

New York.

Carey has received more than \$1-million for his campaign from his brother, who is the president of the New England Petroleum Corporation. This would be in violation of the recent "reforms" of the the New York state election laws, reforms that Clark says he supports.

Clark's \$100 limit on contributions is a good public relations gimmick, but his own program shows that it is not only big-money contributions that determine the fundamental allegiance of a capitalist politician.

Clark calls himself a "populist" and says he "distrusts bigness." But he is dedicated to the Democratic Party, a capitalist party, and to upholding the capitalist system that has brought the world to the brink of economic disaster and nuclear annihilation. That is why he cannot offer effective solutions to the problems of working people.

In contrast, the Socialist Workers Party is dedicated to the interests of the working class and all oppressed people. The SWP is fighting for an end to the system that is responsible for war, racism, inflation, unemployment, and the erosion of democratic rights.

My campaign offers rational solutions to the immediate needs of working people, and at the same time points the way toward a complete transformation of society—to a socialist society in which human needs will come before profits.

...plunder

Continued from page 28

eral taxes included?" exhorts a recent commonwealth government advertisement in *Business Week*. The ad urges U. S. manufacturers to establish plants in Puerto Rico because "wages are lower than in any other industrial area of the U. S."

Under this policy of tax exemption and cheap labor, officially called "Operation Bootstrap," American capital industrialized Puerto Rico in the last 25 years.

Since the mid-1960s most of these investments have been going to heavy industry, especially petroleum refineries and petrochemical industries. Today these industries represent more than one-third, or \$1.3-billion, of the total investment in Puerto Rico.

With the growing importance of these industries, the main oil monopolies involved, including the Rockefeller-

dominated CORCO, have proposed constructing a "superport" that could accomodate supertankers carrying crude petroleum from Venezuela and the Middle East. Although several locations have been proposed, a site has not been definitively determined.

Widespread opposition to the superport plan has helped make it more difficult to settle on a site. For example, last year when the West Coast town of Aguadilla was proposed as the site, thousands of protesters marched in the city on July 4.

The objections to the superport are that it would significantly increase construction of oil refineries and petrochemical plants that would have a dangerous effect on the island's environment. The plants that already exist have proved to be big polluters and a serious health hazard in the parts of the country where they are located.

At the same time these new plants would not provide anywhere near the number of new jobs required. This is a serious consideration in Puerto Rico, where unemployment is nearly 30 percent. An economic plan that will benefit the masses of workers and poor farmers and provide enough new jobs must be one that the Puerto Rican people control.

Although no steps have been taken to begin construction on the superport, expansion of the refining and petrochemical industries is going ahead at full steam. The U. S. imperialists have a plan for reaping bigger profits from Puerto Rico, and they are moving ahead regardless of the bitter consequences for the Puerto Rican people.

This underlines the importance of working people in the U. S. supporting the struggle for an independent Puerto Rico where Puerto Ricans can determine their own affairs.

Corrections

There were several typographical errors in last week's issue. In the article on the Texas Raza Unida Party state convention, we reported that 200 people attended the convention. The figure should have been 500.

Also, in the article "Runaway inflation: what causes it?" the omission of several words changed the meaning of the sentence referring to Chile. The sentence should have read: "One glaring example of this was the U. S.-induced inflation in Chile, which produced economic and social instability and helped lead to the overthrow of the Allende government."

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Phoenix: YSA, c/o Steve Shliveck, P.O. Box 890, Tempe, Ariz. 85281.

Tucson: YSA, c/o Tim Clennon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-1512.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Sacramento: YSA, c/o Marlene Metcalf, P.O. Box 2061, Sacramento, Calif. 95810.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: (415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, c/o John Hummer, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-0615.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825, YSA—(303) 266-9431.

CONNECTICUT: Hartford: YSA, P.O. Box 1184, Hartford, Conn. 06101.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, c/o Meriwether Shepherd, 811 W. Pensacola St., Tallahassee, Fla. 32304. Tel: (904) 877-5787.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

HAWAII: Honolulu: YSA, c/o David Hough, 629 Bannister St. #4, Honolulu, Hawaii 96819.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Dave Ellis, 1309 E. Vermont, Indianapolis, Ind. 46202.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-4738 or 842-8658.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: YSA, Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, 709 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 21201. Tel: (301) 383-8128.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103 Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 668-6334.

Detroit: SWP, YSA, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48201. Tel: (313) TE1-6135.

East Lansing: YSA, Second Floor Offices, Union Bldg. Michigan State University, East Lansing, Mich. 48823.

MINNESOTA: Minneapolis-St. Paul: SWP, YSA, Labor Bookstore, 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls., Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 332-7781.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 4660 Maryland, Suite 17, St. Louis, Mo. 63108. Tel: (314) 367-2520.

NEW JERSEY: New Brunswick: YSA, c/o Richard Ariza, 515 S. First Ave., Highland Park, N.J. 08904. Tel: (201) 828-4710.

NEW YORK: Albany: YSA, c/o Spencer Livingston, 317 State St., Albany, N.Y. 12210.

Brooklyn: SWP and YSA, 136 Lawrence St. (at Wiloughby), Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Tel: (212) 596-2849.

Buffalo: YSA, P.O. Box 604, Buffalo, N.Y. 14240.

New York City: City-wide SWP and YSA, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-4966.

Lower Manhattan: SWP, YSA, and Merit Bookstore, 706 Broadway (4th St.), Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: SWP, YSA—(212) 982-6051; Merit Books—(212) 982-5940.

Ossining: YSA, c/o Scott Cooper, 127-1 S. Highland Ave., Ossining, N.Y. 10562. Tel: (914) 941-8565.

Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 2726 Broadway (104th St.), New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

OHIO: Cincinnati: YSA, c/o C.R. Mitts, P.O. Box 32084, Cincinnati, Ohio 45232. Tel: (513) 242-9043.

Cleveland: SWP and YSA, 4420 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103. Tel: SWP—(216) 391-5553, YSA—(216) 391-3278.

OREGON: Portland: SWP and YSA, 208 S.W. Stark, Fifth Floor, Portland, Ore. 97204. Tel: (503) 226-2715.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1004 Filbert St. (one block north of Market), Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Tel: (215) WA5-4316.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Press, 3400 Fifth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15213. Tel: (412) 682-5019.

State College: YSA, 333 Logan Ave. #401, State College, Pa. 16801.

TENNESSEE: Nashville: YSA, P.O. Box 67, Station B, Nashville, Tenn. 37235. Tel: (615) 383-2583.

TEXAS: Houston: SWP, YSA, and Pathfinder Books, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: YSA, c/o Andy Gonzalez, 2203 W. Houston, San Antonio, Texas 78207.

UTAH: Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University, Logan, Utah 84321.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor, Wash., D.C. 20004. Tel: SWP—(202) 783-2391; YSA—(202) 783-2363.

WASHINGTON: Bellingham: YSA and Young Socialist Books, Rm. 213, Viking Union, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Wash. 98225. Tel: (206) 676-3460.

Pullman: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Washington State University, Pullman, Wash. 99163.

Seattle: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 5623 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Tel: (206) 522-7800.

WISCONSIN: Madison: YSA, 108 N. Breese Terr., Madison, Wis. 53705.

Milwaukee: YSA, UW-Milwaukee Union Box 139, Rm. E-382, Milwaukee, Wis. 53201. Tel: (414) 963-5551.

A conference on prospects for socialism

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1. NEW YORK UNIVERSITY. Keynote speaker: JACK BARNES, national secretary, Socialist Workers Party. 7:30 p.m., MEYER BLDG. (Broadway & Washington Place), ROOM 121. Donation: \$1.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2. Four two-part classes: WHAT IS SOCIALISM?; MARXIST ECONOMICS; MARXISM AND BLACK NATIONALISM; and THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA: A MARXIST ANALYSIS. Teachers: CLAIRE MORIARTY, DICK ROBERTS, TONY THOMAS, and LES EVANS. 11 a.m. LOEB STUDENT CENTER (Washington Sq. S. & LaGuardia Place). Donation: \$.50 per class

Socialist campaign rally

SATURDAY: SWP CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: DERRICK MORRISON, SWP candidate for governor; REBECCA FINCH, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. 7:30 p.m., LOEB STUDENT CENTER. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and New York Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 982-8214.

Calif. socialist campaign wrap-up weekend

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 1. "WHY FORD AND ROCKEFELLER CAN'T MAKE THE SYSTEM WORK." Speaker: DEBBY BUSTIN, cochairwoman of Socialist Workers 1974 National Campaign Committee. 8 p.m., 1519 MISSION ST., SAN FRANCISCO.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2. "CAPITALISM IN CRISIS." Speaker: PETER CAMEJO, member of national committee of Socialist Workers Party. 12 noon, 1519 MISSION ST., SAN FRANCISCO.

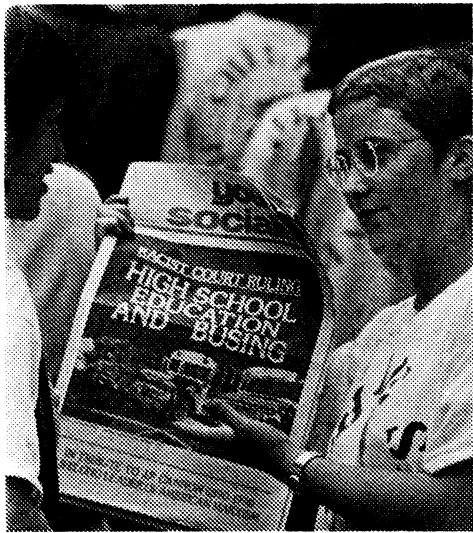
SOCIALIST STREET RALLIES. 2:30 p.m., MARKET & POWELL STREETS; MISSION & 24TH STREETS, SAN FRANCISCO.

Socialist campaign rally

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2. Speakers: OLGA RODRIGUEZ, SWP candidate for governor; DAN STYRON, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; PETER CAMEJO, member SWP national committee; SYLVIA WEINSTEIN, SWP candidate for San Francisco board of education. 7:30 p.m., FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH (at Franklin & Geary St.) Donation: \$3 for weekend, \$2 for rally. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1974 California Campaign Committee. For more information call (San Francisco) (415) 863-3080 or (Los Angeles) (213) 483-2732.

Read the Young Socialist

Join the Young Socialist Alliance



The Young Socialist Alliance is out to transform this society from top to bottom. We are fighting for a socialist world, where human needs will come before private profit.

____ I would like more information about the YSA.

____ I want to join the YSA.

____ Enclosed is \$1 for 6 months of the Young Socialist newspaper.

Name: _____

Address: _____

City, state, zip, & phone: _____

YSA, P.O. Box 471 Cooper Sta., N.Y., N.Y. 10003

Texas socialist campaign banquet

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 2. Speakers: SHERRY SMITH, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; LINDA JENNESS, SWP 1972 presidential candidate; HARRY RING, Militant Southwest Bureau editor; PEDRO VASQUEZ, SWP candidate for attorney general. 6 p.m., cocktails; 7 p.m., dinner; 8:30 p.m., program. 3311 MONTROSE, HOUSTON. Donation: \$5 for dinner, \$1.50 for program only. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

Socialist Bookstores in your area

Many of the bookstores listed below are participating in the special sale announced on page 21. Contact the store for hours and information.

ATLANTA: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree Street N. E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. Tel.: (404) 523-0610

BERKELEY: Granma Bookstore, 1849 University Avenue, Berkeley, Calif. Tel.: (415) 548-0354

BOSTON: Pathfinder Books, 655 Atlantic Avenue, Third Floor, Boston, Mass. Tel.: (617) 338-8560

CHICAGO: Pathfinder Bookstore, 428 S. Wabash Street, Chicago, Ill. Tel.: (312) 939-0756

CLEVELAND: Debs Hall Bookstore, 4420 Superior Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. Tel.: (216) 391-5553

DENVER: Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Col. Tel.: (303) 623-2825

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HOUSTON: Pathfinder Bookstore, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas. Tel.: (713) 526-1082

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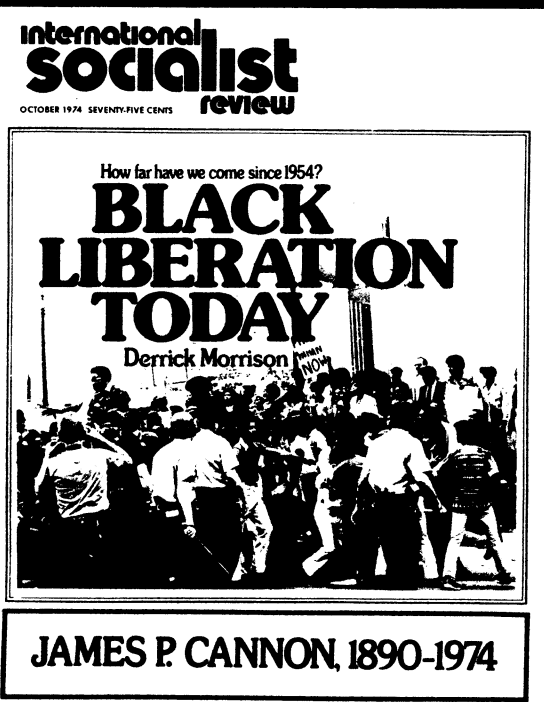
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International Socialist Review



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How U.S. capitalists plunder Puerto Rico

By DOUG JENNESS

When Nelson Rockefeller made some of his stock and security holdings public last month, there was one item that was of special interest to the people of Puerto Rico. This was the bonds he holds in Puerto Rico's Water Resources Authority (Autoridad de las Fuentes Fluviales—AFF), valued at \$1,867,800.

A closer look at AFF ownership and policy gives a vivid glimpse of the way Puerto Rican society is ruled by U.S. monopoly capital.

The AFF is the commonwealth government department that controls electric and water service on the island. In recent months it has been the target of angry consumer protests as electric bills have skyrocketed. For some residents, the rates have shot up in six months from \$12 a month to \$94.35. Boycotts, pickets, and public forums have been organized in many communities and housing cooperatives throughout the island.

When the government cut off service to people who refused to pay their bills, the boycotters took the AFF to court. The October issue of the monthly bulletin published by the Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization reports, "The boycott made front page news when the U.S. district court ruled that the Water Resources Administration could not discontinue service without prior public hearings."

According to the pro-independence bulletin, the Association of Independentista Lawyers and the Legal Institute of Puerto Rico have agreed to provide legal assistance to consumers making requests for hearings to present their complaints about unfair rate increases.

One of the biggest grievances is that

the Puerto Rican consumer pays more than six times as much per kilowatt hour as U.S.-owned companies such as Union Carbide and PPG Industries.

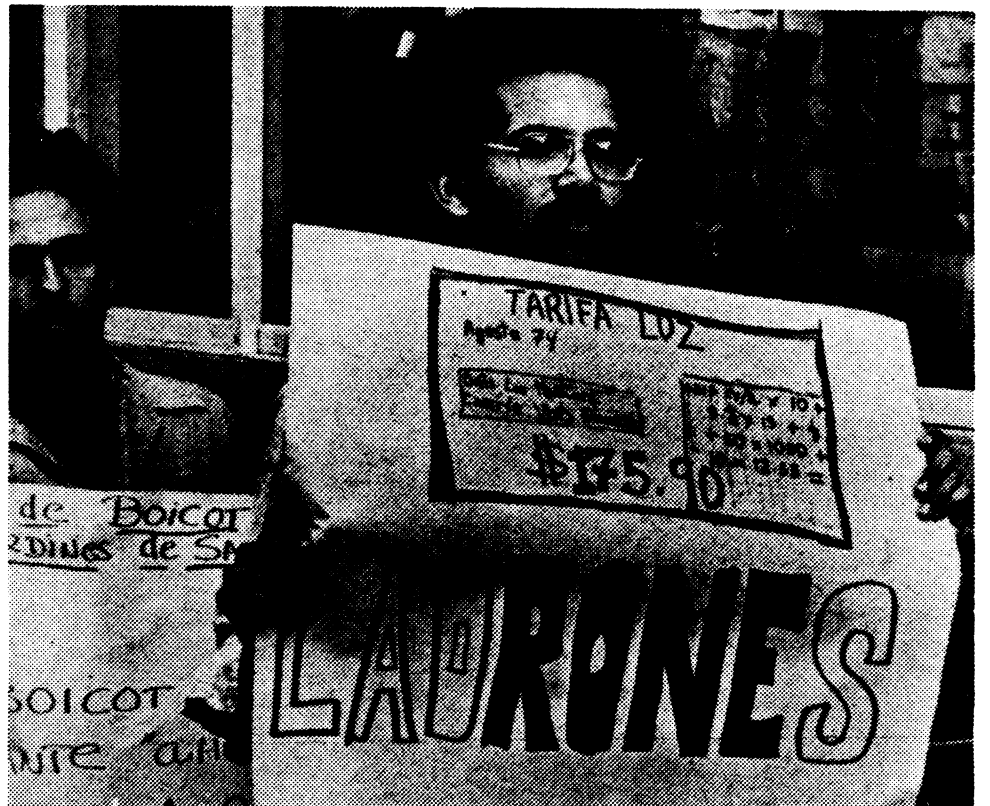
A report prepared by the Commission on Natural Resources of the Puerto Rican House of Representatives indicates that the amount paid for electrical energy by industries that received special rates during the past two years did not even equal the cost of the fuel used by the AFF to supply electrical energy to those same industries. In 1973, the AFF lost more than \$7-million through the service it gave to these industries.

This outrageous discrimination is in addition to the fact that the high electric payments made by Puerto Ricans go to pay the interest rates on Rockefeller's bonds.

The interest payments to Rockefeller and other U.S. bankers is a considerable amount of money. In 1971-72, for example, the AFF paid \$25-million, or 20 percent of its total income, to U.S. bondholders.

The bondholders also have a dominant influence on AFF policy. The First National City Bank, which is the trustee for U.S. bondholders as well as the largest bondholder, has a contract with the AFF that serves to pressure the commonwealth government to raise its rates. It stipulates "that at all times (the AFF) will fix, charge, and collect reasonable rates for services and will periodically adjust the same so that maintenance costs be paid and an equivalent of 120% of the debt and its interest be provided for."

Although the AFF tries to give the appearance of being a publicly run utility providing a necessary service to the people of Puerto Rico, it is in fact a source of considerable profit



'Thieves,' says sign denouncing exorbitant rates charged by U.S.-controlled power company in Puerto Rico.

to Yankee businessmen and bankers.

There's also another way that Rockefeller's influence is used to squeeze more money from Puerto Ricans. The AFF buys its petroleum at extra high prices from the Commonwealth Oil Refining Corporation (CORCO), which is dominated by the Rockefeller family's Exxon.

In an article on CORCO in the July 15, 1973, *Claridad*, biweekly paper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Félix Ojeda Reyes wrote, "We should recall the CORCO-Authority of Water Works affair. The parties signed an

agreement until 1980 and at the beginning of last year [1972] CORCO wanted to violate it so that the AFF, through the Puerto Rican consumer would pay it an additional \$4,000,000. The pressure was so great that the AFF threw in the towel."

Ojeda Reyes went on to cite a document that revealed, "In open violation of the contract the Authority paid more than \$823,000 in benefits to CORCO on the basis of higher prices paid retroactively, in addition to \$1,600,000 in overpricing not specified in the contract."

This same AFF that pays millions of dollars a year in interest, gives lower rates to U.S. corporations, and makes deals with CORCO to unload higher oil costs onto working people—pleaded poverty last year when its employees demanded better benefits. The AFF claimed that it had a \$10-million deficit and refused to concede to workers' demands for better insurance benefits and overtime pay.

When the workers went on strike for six days, at the same time that several other strikes of public employees were occurring, Governor Hernández Colón called out the National Guard to occupy the power plants and break the strike.

The domination of U.S. business in Puerto Rico's electric power utility is only one example of the ways in which Yankee imperialism exploits the people of Puerto Rico. This small Caribbean island has become a haven for North American capitalists seeking high profits. "Where else can you get 100% exemption from all taxes, fed-

Continued on page 26

SWP: 'Independence for Puerto Rico now!'



Claridad/Miguel Rivera

The following statement was issued in English and Spanish by Derrick Morrison and Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidates for governor and U.S. Senator in New York.

We wholeheartedly support the Oct. 27 rally for the independence of Puerto Rico called by the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee.

Puerto Rico is a colony, oppressed by U.S. imperialism. Its people have the right to determine their own affairs with no interference by the United States or any other country.

They have a right to decide how to use the island's natural resources and labor power, now exploited by U.S. oil and petrochemical corporations and the tourist industry.

They have a right to decide how

rich agricultural land will be used, 13 percent of which is presently occupied by the U.S. military. They have a right to control their own postal service, currency, migration, communications, education, courts, and trade, which are now run by the U.S. government.

We believe that Puerto Rican working people and poor farmers have the power to remove the yoke of Yankee domination and establish an independent Puerto Rico. They have the power to end capitalist rule and inaugurate a socialist society.

We urge socialists, unions, Black groups, Puerto Rican organizations, and all other oppressed people in the United States to join the struggle to get the U.S. out of Puerto Rico and to support the Oct. 27 rally at Madison Square Garden.